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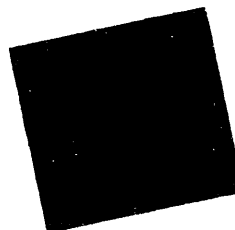
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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1947



PALESTINE

File No. 46

pp. 10008 - 10354

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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UNTIL

1978

61793

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Class 371

Piece 61793

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E 10008/46/31

and closed until.....1998.....

***delete as necessary**

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Reference:- **FO** 371 / 61793

665

E

E 10031

2

PALESTINE

28 OCT

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

Last Paper.

10008

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson, C.O.

Oct 30

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

E 10034

WOLF SILBERSTEIN, Effects of.
for H/C Jerusalem. Refers SS 5185/20 to
personal effects of the late Wolf Silberstein.
All personal effects, except main suitcase and
passport were handed to British Forces for
dispatch with office of deceased by special
aeroplane leaving Prague 26 Oct addressed to
Colonel Foster General.

(Minutes.)

body to c.d. (Mr. Matheson)

Matheson C.O.
22/11

28/10

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371/61793

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En Clair

REPETITIONS

FROM PRAGUE TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir P. Nicholls

No. 1016

D. 10.50 a.m. 27th October, 1947.

25th October, 1947. R. 1.0 p.m. 27th October, 1947.

Please pass following to High Commissioner for Palestine.

[Begins]

Your telegram SS5185/20 of the 20th October about the personal effects of the late Wolf Silberstein.

All personal effects with the exception of monies, valuables and passport were handed to Arnost Sorer for despatch with coffin of deceased by special aircraft leaving Prague on the 26th October addressed to Administrator General. Remaining items will be despatched through Diplomatic bag.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to High Commissioner for Palestine]

F F F



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Palestine
EASTER.

E10034

G

28 OCT 1947

12b 31
E10034/46/c

New York
3045

Dated 2700
Received 2800

Palestine: U.S. proposals.

Last Paper.

E10008

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Keep copied.

Tel W'ton 11190
2900

Rpd New York 3702

8) C.O.

4/29/47

2900

(Minutes.)

The U.S. Amb. will discuss Palestine
with the S/S, inter alia, this
afternoon at 5 pm. Mr Burrows
has sent a note to the Private
Sec. for the S/S's use.

JD out. 28

See within

1. W'ton 6095

3100

(Action
completed.)

2529/10

(Index.)

W/H

Next Paper.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO

371

61793

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PRISEC

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

D. 2.30 p.m. 27th October, 1947.

R. 8.50 p.m. 27th October, 1947.

MOST IMMEDIATE

LIGHT

Hilddring informed me this morning of the lines on which Douglas has been instructed to speak to you.

3. They anticipate Russian dissent from these proposals and are anxious to reach some understanding with us before they again intervene in the discussion on Sub-Committee 1 of the Palestine Committee. They will try not to make a move there before Wednesday.

5. I also imagine that they have already spoken to the Jews.

MM

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 Reference:-
 FO 371 / 61793

Registry
No.

~~Top Secret.~~
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
☒ Open.

Draft. B. A. B. B.
H. M. Ambassador,
Washington.

Telegram.

No. 11190

(Date) OCT 29th

Repeat to :—
~~UNDEL~~
New York 3703.
Most Immediate

(for Colonial Sec.)

~~Ex. Cl. Sec.~~
~~Code.~~
Cypher.

Distribution :—

~~World Organisation~~

Dis. Secret

Copies to :—

C. O.
My of Defence

F. O.,

31 October 1947.

Despatched

M.

Most
IMMEDIATE
Secret

New York telegram No. 3075 [of October
27 : Palestine].

United States Ambassador raised the question of Palestine with me on October 28th. He asked whether, assuming the United Nations adopted the report on partition and the Arabs and Jews agreed, we would agree to the appointment of United Nations commission, with a High Commissioner, to carry out the settlement of the boundaries and to determine the means of transferring power and administration to the respective States. Would we also agree to shorten the period of transition to July, 1948? I replied that, if the Jews and Arabs agreed and their agreement was supported by the United Nations, I saw no difficulty about arranging for the transfer of power. I doubted whether there was need for a United Nations commission except for fixing the boundaries. We would endeavour to place our experience at the disposal of the two parties or the United Nations.

2. I said that I saw little difficulty about the period of transition in transferring of power, subject to caveat that there were questions of compensation, transfer of assets, protection of companies etc., and the further questions of the withdrawal of our communication mechanism/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO 371/61793

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mechanism and troops. We would have to consider whether we could undertake withdrawal by the date mentioned. I assumed, however, that, on the assumptions mentioned, we should not be responsible for law and order, immigration etc., i.e. we should be able to clear up our military position independently of the civil power. I would have to consult the Chiefs of Staff and the Cabinet about the period of withdrawal on the assumptions Mr. Douglas had mentioned. 3. Mr. Douglas then asked what part we were willing to play on the assumption that no agreement was reached between the Arabs and Jews and the United Nations still decided on partition. I replied that our position was reserved until we saw the decision of the United Nations. I could not commit H.M.G. on any step they might take in these circumstances.

4. Mr. Douglas then asked whether it was possible for the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom to agree on a solution to be submitted to the United Nations. I said we could not do this. We had tried various settlements over a number of years without success. We could not now go further than to place our experience at the disposal of the United Nations, who must come to their decision.

5. Mr. Douglas finally asked whether we could play any part with our troops while any United Nations decision was being carried out. I said we could not do so. If there were no agreement our policy was to withdraw from Palestine. I pointed out that settlement in Palestine had been prevented by money from America which financed

illegal/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference:

FO

371

61793

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illegal immigration. This, together with the White House attitude, had made the Jews intransigent and the Arabs hostile, so that reconciliation had been impossible. In addition, there was a present threat to bring 13,000 odd illegal immigrants from Eastern Europe, who would have to be housed on British territory. All this was due to the money and influence of United States nationals. In the light of all this, it was impossible for the United Kingdom to continue to play the ignominious rôle she had been compelled to play since the war. Mr. Douglas undertook to communicate my views to the United States Government.

BAB 3
29. X

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference: FO 371 / 61793					

9
F10034/46/5

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Secret.

Cypher/CTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON.

NO. 11190.

October 29th, 1947. D. 2.20.p.m. October 29th, 1947.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York No. 3703 Most Immediate.
(for Colonial Secretary)

MOST IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

New York telegram No. 3075 [of October 27th: Palestine].

United States Ambassador raised the question of Palestine with me on October 28th. He asked whether, assuming the United Nations adopted the report on partition and the Arabs and Jews agreed, we would agree to the appointment of United Nations commission, with a High Commissioner, to carry out the settlement of the boundaries and to determine the means of transferring power and administration to the respective States. Would we also agree to shorten the period of transition to July, 1948? I replied that, if the Jews and Arabs agreed and their agreement was supported by the United Nations, I saw no difficulty about arranging for the transfer of power. I doubted whether there was need for a United Nations commission except for fixing the boundaries. We would endeavour to place our experience at the disposal of the two parties or the United Nations.

2. I said that I saw little difficulty about the period of transition in transferring of power, subject to caveat that there were questions of compensation, transfer of assets, protection of companies etc., and the further questions of the withdrawal of our communication mechanism and troops. We would have to consider whether we could undertake withdrawal by the date mentioned. I assumed, however, that, on the assumptions mentioned, we should not be responsible for law and order, immigration etc., i.e. we should be able to clear up our military position independently of the civil power. I would have to consult the Chiefs of

/Staff

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Staff and the Cabinet about the period of withdrawal on the assumptions Mr. Douglas had mentioned.

3. Mr. Douglas then asked what part we were willing to play on the assumption that no agreement was reached between the Arabs and Jews and the United Nations still decided on partition. I replied that our position was reserved until we saw the decision of the United Nations. I could not commit His Majesty's Government on any step they might take in these circumstances.

4. Mr. Douglas then asked whether it was possible for the United States of America and the United Kingdom to agree on a solution to be submitted to the United Nations. I said we could not do this. We had tried various settlements over a number of years without success. We could not now go further than to place our experience at the disposal of the United Nations, who must come to their decision.

5. Mr. Douglas finally asked whether we could play any part with our troops while any United Nations decision was being carried out. I said we could not do so. If there were no agreement our policy was to withdraw from Palestine. I pointed out that settlement in Palestine had been prevented by money from America which financed illegal immigration. This, together with the White House attitude, had made the Jews intransigent and the Arabs hostile, so that reconciliation had been impossible. In addition, there was a present threat to bring 13,000 odd illegal immigrants from Eastern Europe, who would have to be housed on British territory. All this was due to the money and influence of United States nationals. In the light of all this, it was impossible for the United Kingdom to continue to play the ignominious rôle she had been compelled to play since the war. Mr. Douglas undertook to communicate my views to the United States Government.

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Reference:

FO 371/61793

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CYFHER/CTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

E10034/46

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

D.9.18 p.m. 31st October 1947

No: 6095

31st October 1947

R.3.40 a.m. 1st November 1947

No: 8095
31st October 1947 R.3.40 a.m. 1st N
Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York
(For Colonial Secretary)

(For Colonial Secretary)

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

LIGHT

Your telegram No:11190: Palestine.

Mr Marshall told me today that he had received from Mr Douglas a full report which corresponded with the account of your conversation contained in your telegram under reference. Mr Marshall did not volunteer any views on the situation.

44

4/12/20

Dr. J. J. Jones
Nov. 1

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Reference: **FO** 371 61793

<p>127 31</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>E10035 /G</p>
<p>E10035/46/C</p> <p>New York</p> <p>3049</p> <p>Dated 27 Oct</p> <p>Received 28 Oct.</p>	<p>Palestine: Presence of Colonial Secretary in New York.</p>	
<p>Last Paper.</p> <p>E10034</p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p>	
<p>References.</p> <p>E9856/46/C</p>	<p>Being copied to P.S. Col. Office</p> <p>And P.S. to Mr. Rees. Williams</p> <p>JB Oct. 29</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of.)</p> <p>8) C.O.</p> <p>Oct 29.</p>		
<p>(Action completed.)</p> <p>29/10</p>	<p>(Index.)</p> <p>4/11</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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File #

~~DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)~~

13

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D. 7.20 p.m. 27th October, 1947

R. 2.30 a.m. 28th October, 1947

D. 7.20 p.m. 27th October, 1947

R. 2.30 a.m. 28th October, 1947

D. 7.20 p.m. 27th October, 1947

D. 7.20 p.m. 27th October, 1947

D. 7.20 p.m. 27th October, 1947

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<p>128 31</p> <p>E10036/46/C</p> <p>F.O. Min</p> <p>Mr. G. Allan</p> <p>Dated 25 00</p> <p>Received 28 00</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>E10036 /G</p>
<p>Last Paper</p> <p>E10035</p> <p>References</p> <p>E9493/9372/31</p> <p>in Sept.</p> <p>(Print)</p> <p>(How disposed of)</p> <p>See New York 362</p> <p>25 00</p>	<p>Protection of Holy Places and maintenance of order in Jerusalem after withdrawal of British troops & administration</p>	
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>25 30/10</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p> <p>See within</p> <p>1. New York 3080 27 00.</p> <p>See reply John Bent</p> <p>Oct. 29</p> <p>✓ 29/x</p>	
<p>(Index)</p> <p>upt.</p>	<p>Next Paper</p>	

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Top Secret.
Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET).

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK.

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations).

No. 3652.

25th October 1947.

D. 3.15 a.m. 26th October 1947.

IMPORTANT.
TOP SECRET.

Following for Secretary of State for the Colonies from
Rees-Williams.

[Begins].

You should know of developments here in connexion with the suggestion made by the High Commissioner for Palestine in his telegram No. 1889 that special arrangements should be made for the protection of the Holy Places and the maintenance of order in Jerusalem after the British withdrawal from Palestine, until a modus vivendi for the City has been evolved.

2. The Foreign Office do not favour this idea on the ground that (especially if the retention of a division of troops with ancillary services were required as the Service authorities advise) such a move would largely nullify the good effects of withdrawal vis-a-vis the Arabs and might lead to our becoming involved in any conflict that might arise between Arabs and Jews. A minute on these lines is being submitted by the Foreign Secretary to the Prime Minister suggesting that the point shall be considered by the Defence Committee.

3. After discussion with the District Commissioner, Jerusalem, I myself feel very strongly that, given the history of the Holy Places and the responsibility for their protection we took over from the Turks when we assumed the Mandate, British withdrawal without proper arrangements for protection and the maintenance of order in Jerusalem would certainly lead to religious strife, especially between the seven Christian confessions. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre might be desecrated, the communities' treasures looted, with risk of the loss of priceless historical treasures. If this happened, I am convinced that we shall be faced with a storm of protest and a revulsion of feeling against us throughout the Christian world. There might also be serious political repercussions in that the Orthodox Church might appeal for support to Russia, while the Latin Church would no doubt look to France, its historic champion, and the main source of its finance, the United States of America. Furthermore, since the necessity for a small guard force over the Haifa oil installations is apparently accepted, we should face the criticism that we were prepared to /look...

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[Ends].

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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No.

Top Secret.
~~Secret.~~ Important.
~~Confidential.~~
~~Restricted.~~
~~Open.~~

Draft.

Secretary of State
for the Colonies
United Kingdom
Delegation,
NEW YORK.

Telegram

No. ~~Top~~
~~Secret.~~

(Date)

Repeat to :—

~~En Clair.~~
~~Cede.~~
Cypher.

Distribution :—

Copies to :—

E 10036

F.O.

26/10/194

Despatched

315 M.

Following for Secretary of State for the
Colonies from Rees-Williams. Begins.

You should know of developments here in
connexion with the suggestion made by the High
Commissioner for Palestine in his telegram
No. 1889 that special arrangements should be made
for the protection of the Holy Places and the
maintenance of order in Jerusalem after the
British withdrawal from Palestine, until a
modus vivendi for the City has been evolved.

2. ~~At the moment~~ ^{do not} ~~The Foreign Office are~~
~~inclined not to~~ favour this idea on the ground
that (especially if the retention of a division
of troops with ancillary services were required
as the Service authorities advise) such a move
would largely nullify the good effects of
withdrawal vis-a-vis the Arabs and might lead
to our becoming involved in any conflict that
might arise between Arabs and Jews. A minute on
these lines is ~~likely~~ ^{being} ~~shortly to be~~ submitted by
the Foreign Secretary to the Prime Minister
suggesting that the point shall be considered by
the Defence Committee.

3. ^{After discussion with the District Commissioner, Jerusalem}
I myself feel very strongly that, given the
history of the Holy Places and the responsibility
for their protection we took over from the Turks
when we assumed the Mandate, British withdrawal
without proper arrangements for protection and
the maintenance of order in Jerusalem would

/certainly

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3148 Wt. 26469/137 50m 9/46 (51) F.S.S.

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Reference: FO 371/61793

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18 certainly lead to religious strife, especially between the seven Christian confessions. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre might be desecrated, the communities' treasures looted, with risk of the loss of priceless historical treasures. If this happened, I am convinced that we shall be faced with a storm of protest and a revulsion of feeling against us throughout the Christian world. There might also be serious political repercussions in that the Orthodox Church might appeal for support to Russia, while the Latin Church would no doubt look to France, its historic champion, and the main source of its finance, the USA. Furthermore, since the necessity for a small guard force over the Haifa oil installations is apparently accepted, we should face the criticism that we were prepared to look after the interests of oil but not those of Christianity.

4. I am accordingly making a parallel submission to the Prime Minister and Defence Committee on the above lines, taking the opportunity also to stress the Colonial Office view that the civil administration of Palestine must be wound up at the earliest possible moment after the announcement of withdrawal, such of its officers as the military government wish to use being retained as Civil Affairs officers over the period of withdrawal. Ends.

✓
1/25/48

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference

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19

28 OCT 1947

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC(SECRET)

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No.3080
27th October, 1947.

D. 7.25 p.m. 27th October,
1947.
R. 2.30 a.m. 28th October,
1947.

IMPORTANT
TOP SECRET

Following for Rees Williams Colonial Office
from Secretary of State for Colonies.

Thank you for Foreign Office telegram No.3652
regarding Holy places. Your view should be
seriously considered but it seems necessary to
await decision regarding security arrangements on
British withdrawal in other parts of Palestine.

[Copies sent to Mr. Rees Williams].

QQQ

1	2	3	4	5	6
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Reference:-
FO
371 / 61793

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269

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E 10043

1947

PALESTINE

28 OCT

20

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 10043/21/31

Excluded

11/10/47

21 Oct

28 -

Palestine, 11 M.G. Policy.
 Hansard Vol 152 No 1. 21 Oct gives
 text of speech by the Marquess of Salisbury
 in which he referred to 11 M.G. Palestine
 Policy. to which reference was made on
 the following day by the Earl of Perth.
 Hansard Vol 152 No 2 22 Oct enclosed.

Last Paper

10036

References

(Minutes.)

See attached correspondence
 from Private Sec's file.

The JIS has expressed a
 wish to remind the Marquess
 of Salisbury of his letter of Jan
 5th in connexion with his
 recent criticism of British
 policy in Palestine.

I submit a draft

Private Sec. JIS
4/11D. G. Smith
Oct. 28

(How disposed of)

21. Marquess of
 Salisbury
 from JIS
 Nov. 5

(Action
completed)

JCM 6/11

(Index)

4/11/48

Next Paper

E 10056

32538

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Reference: FO 371/61793

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29/11
 30.11
 JB. Nov. 6

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF LORDS

OFFICIAL REPORT
(UNREVISED)

Vol. 152. No. 1

Tuesday, 21st October, 1947

CONTENTS

Opening of New Session.
His Majesty's Gracious Speech.
Debate on the Address: First Day.

E 10043

28 OCT



LONDON
HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
Price Sixpence

21

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HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE

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 Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons—The Rt. Hon. HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.
 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—The Rt. Hon. ERNEST BEVIN, M.P.
 Chancellor of the Exchequer—The Rt. Hon. HUGH DALTON, M.P.
 Minister for Economic Affairs—The Rt. Hon. Sir STAFFORD CRIPPS, K.C., M.P.
 Minister of Defence—The Rt. Hon. ALBERT VICTOR ALEXANDER, C.H., M.P.
 Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords—The Rt. Hon. Viscount ADDISON, K.G.
 Lord Chancellor—The Rt. Hon. Viscount JOWITT.
 Secretary of State for the Home Department—The Rt. Hon. JAMES CHUTER EDE, M.P.
 Secretary of State for the Colonies—The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR CREECH JONES, M.P.
 Secretary of State for Burma—The Rt. Hon. The Earl of LISTOWEL.
 Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations—The Rt. Hon. P. J. NOEL-BAKER, M.P.
 Secretary of State for Scotland—The Rt. Hon. A. WOODBURN, M.P.
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 Secretary of State for War—The Rt. Hon. E. SHINWELL, M.P.
 Secretary of State for Air—The Rt. Hon. A. HENDERSON, K.C., M.P.
 Minister of Transport—The Rt. Hon. ALFRED BARNES, M.P.
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 Minister of Pensions—G. BUCHANAN, Esq., M.P.
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 Lord Advocate—The Rt. Hon. JOHN WHEATLEY, K.C.
 Solicitor-General—Sir FRANK SOSKICE, K.C., M.P.
 Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries—The Rt. Hon. The Earl of HUNTINGDON and G. A. BROWN, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Education—DAVID RENNIE HARDMAN, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Food—Dr. EDITH SUMMERSKILL, M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Fuel and Power—A. ROBENS, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health—JOHN EDWARDS, Esq., O.B.E., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service—NESS EDWARDS, Esq., M.P.

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Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of National Insurance—THOMAS STEELE, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Town and Country Planning—Lieut.-Colonel E. M. KING, M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions—ARTHUR BLENKINSOP, Esq., M.P.
 Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, Ministry of Supply—Major J. FREEMAN, M.B.E., M.P., and J. H. JONES, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade—J. W. BELCHER, Esq., M.P.
 Secretary for Overseas Trade—A. G. BOTTOMLEY, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Transport—L. J. CALLAGHAN, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Works—E. F. M. DURBIN, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Civil Aviation—GEORGE SAMUEL LINDGREN, Esq., M.P.
 Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of State for Scotland—J. J. ROBERTSON, Esq., M.P. and THOMAS FRASER, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air—GEOFFREY STANLEY DE FREITAS, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies—Lieut.-Colonel D. R. REES-WILLIAMS, M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations—P. C. GORDON-WALKER, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—Major CHRISTOPHER P. MAYHEW, M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs—K. G. YOUNGER, Esq., M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Burma—The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, K.C., M.P.
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for War, and } MICHAEL STEWART, Esq., M.P.
 Financial Secretary, War Office—
 Parliamentary and Financial Secretary, the Admiralty—JOHN DUGDALE, Esq., M.P.
 Civil Lord of the Admiralty—WALTER JAMES EDWARDS, Esq., M.P.
 Assistant Postmaster-General—C. R. HOBSON, Esq., M.P.
 Financial Secretary to the Treasury—The Rt. Hon. WILLIAM GLENVIL HALL, M.P.
 Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury—The Rt. Hon. WILLIAM WHITELEY, M.P.
 Lords Commissioners of the Treasury—ROBERT JOHN TAYLOR, Esq., M.P., JOSEPH HENDERSON, Esq., M.P., JULIAN SNOW, Esq., M.P., CHARLES JAMES SIMMONS, Esq., M.P., and WILLIAM HANNAN, Esq., M.P.
 Assistant Whips (unpaid)—WILLIAM COLDRIK, Esq., M.P., H. R. ADAMS, Esq., M.P., G. D. WALLACE, Esq., M.P., and W. A. WILKINS, Esq., M.P.
 Lord Chamberlain—The Rt. Hon. the Earl of CLARENDON, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., LL.D.
 Lord Steward of the Household—Group Captain the Duke of HAMILTON AND BRANDON, G.C.V.O., A.F.C., P.C.
 Master of the Horse—The Duke of BEAUFORT, K.G., G.C.V.O., P.C.
 Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms—The Rt. Hon. Lord AMMON.
 Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard—Lord WALKDEN.
 Lords-in-Waiting—The Earl of ELDON, Viscount ALLENDALE, C.B.E., M.C., Lord MORRISON, Lord CHORLEY and Lord HENDERSON.
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HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE VI

VOLUME CLII

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1947-48

Tuesday, 21st October, 1947.

The KING being seated on the Throne, and the Commons being at the Bar with their Speaker, His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and then retired.

*“ My Lords and Members of the House
of Commons,*

“ I am confident that in these times of hardship My people will demonstrate once again to the world their qualities of resolution and energy. With sustained effort this nation will continue to play its full part in leading the world back to prosperity and freedom.

“ The first aim of My Ministers will be to redress the adverse balance of payments, particularly by expanding exports. This will demand increased production and the sale abroad of a larger share of output. The task to be performed by each industry has been set out and, in conjunction with all those engaged in industry, My Government will do their best to provide the means to carry out these tasks.

“ My Ministers will give all possible help to those who work on the land in order to increase still more the home production of food. Legislation will be introduced to provide for the improvement and development of Scottish agriculture so that Scotland may play its full part in the campaign for higher production.

“ With a view to increasing exports and saving imports which can be replaced by home products, steps will be taken to ensure that man-power is used to the best national advantage, and, in particular, to expand the numbers employed in the coal-mining, agricultural and textile industries. The working of the reimposed labour controls will be watched closely and My Government will take measures to bring into essential work those who are making no contribution to the national well-being. They will also encourage in every way the close joint consultation in industry which is necessary if the greatest volume of production is to be secured.

“ My Government will continue to devote their earnest attention to securing from overseas the essential food-stuffs and raw materials for My people. They will do all in their power to find new sources of supply and they will seek to enter into further long-term agreements with overseas countries. A measure will be laid before you designed to promote the expansion of production of all kinds within the Empire.

“ My Government will continue to participate in the work of European reconstruction put in hand in the recent conference in Paris and will do their

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utmost to forward the projects formulated at that meeting for the benefit of Europe and of the world as a whole.

“ The present obstacles to co-operation and understanding between the peoples of the world have strengthened the determination of My Government to support the United Nations and to seek by that means to promote the mutual trust and tolerance on which peaceful progress depends.

“ It is My earnest hope that the forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers will result in a measure of agreement leading towards a democratic and self-supporting Germany which will not threaten world security, and to the satisfactory settlement of the international status of Austria.

“ I trust that a Treaty of Peace with Japan, which will contribute to the welfare of all countries in the Far East, may be concluded at an early date.

“ A measure will be laid before you to enable the future governance of Burma to be in accordance with the free decision of the elected representatives of its people.

" I hope that the discussions now in progress will enable legislation to be laid before you to confer on Ceylon fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth.

“Members of the House of Commons,

“ Estimates for the public services will be laid before you in due course, and you will be asked to approve supplementary financial measures at an early stage of the Session.

*“ My Lords and Members of the House of
Commons,*

“ My Ministers will accelerate the release of men and women from the Armed Forces to the maximum extent consistent with the adequate fulfilment of the tasks falling to the Forces.

“ They will press on with the re-organisation of the Forces on their peace-time basis and with the task of obtaining the necessary voluntary recruits to build up the Regular Forces and the Auxiliary Services.

“ Legislation will be introduced to amend the Parliament Act, 1911.

"A Bill will be laid before you to reform the administration of criminal justice in England and Wales.

"You will be asked to approve legislation to abolish the Poor Law and to provide a comprehensive system of assistance for all in need. This will complete the all-embracing scheme of social security, the main lines of which have been laid down in measures already enacted.

“ A Bill will be laid before you to bring the gas industry under public ownership in completion of the plan for the co-ordination of the fuel and power industries.

“ A measure will be laid before you to extend the scope of public care of children deprived of a normal home life and to secure improved standards of care for such children.

“ Legislation will be introduced to provide a new and more equitable basis for the distribution of general Exchequer grants to local authorities. Provision will also be made for centralizing the machinery of valuation for rating purposes and amending the law as to the valuation of small dwelling-houses in England and Wales.

“ You will be asked to approve a measure to reform the franchise and electoral procedure and to give appropriate effect to recommendations of the Commissions appointed to consider the distribution of Parliamentary seats.

“ A Bill will be laid before you to enable a common national status to be maintained throughout the Commonwealth and to amend the existing law governing the national status of married women.

"You will be asked to approve a measure for the establishment of river boards to take over from existing authorities certain responsibilities for land drainage, fisheries, and the prevention of pollution.

" You will also be invited to pass a Bill to amend the present scheme for securing the exhibition of a fair proportion of British films.

“ A measure will be laid before you to reform the law relating to actions for personal injuries.

" It is hoped that various measures consolidating important branches of the

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House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed at half-past two of the clock, The LORD CHANCELLOR on the Woolsack.

Prayers.

LIST OF THE LORDS TEMPORAL.

GARTER KING OF ARMS attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Third Session of the Thirty-eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro forma*, read 1^a.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The King's Speech reported by the LORD CHANCELLOR.

2.46 p.m.

LORD DUKESTON: My Lords, I beg to move, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty as followeth—

"Most Gracious Sovereign—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the most gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

I feel it is a great honour to be asked to move this Resolution. I understand that, by long custom, one is expected to be as little controversial as possible in discharging that duty, and in the light of existing circumstances, the times in which we are living and the problems which confront your Lordships' House, I will do my best

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to conform to that custom. But I confess that there are many difficulties in the way of preserving that attitude.

I want to deal for a few moments with what I regard as the most important item in the gracious Speech read from the Throne by His Majesty. In the third paragraph it is stated:

"The first aim of my Ministers will be to redress the adverse balance of payments particularly by expanding exports. This will demand increased production and the sale abroad of a larger share of output."

I understand that our adverse balance at the present time is somewhere in the neighbourhood of £450,000,000. Unless we can so increase production as to bridge that gap, then, quite obviously, we are heading for insolvency. It is good that Parliament and, I hope, the people generally, are placing that problem in the forefront of their minds. I am pleased to read in the Press that plans have already been drawn, that they have been jointly considered by representatives of industry and that the industries will know, either now or in a very short time, what is really expected of them.

We are little more than two years beyond the end of the war. We have talked a great deal about planning. The impression created on my mind has been that planning at the highest possible level has been considered and proceeded with but does not appear to have percolated down to the levels working it out in practice where alone that planning can become effective. I believe what is needed in this country at the present moment is that everyone should play his part in arousing the nation to a greater effort and the will to expand production. I find it a little difficult to believe that it is impossible to bridge that gap by methods of production and that we must resort, as I have heard suggested in certain quarters, to the imposition of further restraints and economies in our already low standard of life by withdrawing subsidies in some such way. I believe that is a profound mistake. I cannot accept the view that it is impossible to secure the 8 to 10 per cent. overall increase of production to bridge the adverse balance, which is the greatest task before the country at the present moment.

We have heard a lot about rising spirals, wages chasing prices, and so on. My fear is lest we should get into a descending spiral and should apply economies in a way that would tend to

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Address in Reply to

[LOR

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[Lord Dukeston.]

destroy the will to greater effort in the field of production. I care not how well the plans may be drawn at the top, but if we go into this matter half-heartedly we shall not succeed. Everyone engaged in industry must face this crisis with a realization that, just as in the war we fought to protect life and property, today we are fighting to restore the economy of our country and to retain our place in the world as one of the leading industrial nations. That, to me, is the problem of statesmanship; it is the problem of leadership, and particularly of leadership in industry. No matter how cleverly we may draft our measures, Acts of Parliament do not dig coal or puddle iron or build houses. The will has got to be created at the lowest possible level, otherwise I fear that in the obligation which now confronts us there will be a tendency to effect the balance of our overseas payments by making inroads in directions which are likely to prove a deterrent to greater productivity.

I have heard it said that in this attempt to increase exports, we might have to consider even the export of capital plant and equipment. I hope that will be approached with the greatest possible caution. We may get through this crisis, this monetary crisis, or dollar crisis, by all kinds of economies, and we may under the great pressure now placed upon us to accomplish that objective so affect our capital plant and equipment that when we do emerge we may find ourselves in a competitive world where we are very seriously handicapped in the fight to maintain our status as a great industrial nation. Therefore I place the greatest possible emphasis upon securing these plans by placing squarely on the shoulders of industry the obligation to give effect to them and by creating the opinion throughout industry that these plans are not to be taken merely as orders, merely as something to be fulfilled and then to await further instructions. Industry cannot be run that way. Let us tell industry what we expect and then seek to establish that form of co-operation, leaving industry to exercise its initiative and will. Providing industry conforms to overall planning, the less interference there is from outside the better the possibility of results.

I want now to come to another great difficulty inherent in the existing circumstances of the partial dispersal of our

trade. We know that on both sides of industry the Control of Engagement Order has been accepted. The Order means, in effect, that employment of persons so displaced will be sanctioned only by the authorities at the employment exchanges operating under instructions as to the industries to which labour shall be directed. That may sound very simple, but we have to look at our industries as a growth over a century and a half, very largely devoid of planning, and we may find that some unessential industries are so located as to involve the transference of labour. That, again, is not a very simple thing to accomplish in existing circumstances. We know the housing difficulties, for example and we know that if there is a pattern at all in the country it is one that during the war was built very largely upon the flight of the secondary industries away from the localities where the primary industries grew up. So in your great coal belts, in your great textile areas, and in fact, wherever there are primary basic industries, you find in the main a lack of the secondary industries to balance the basic industries of the country. I hope that this matter will be handled with great care, and that we shall know where labour is to be placed not after but before the date of the transference becomes operative. We must have an eye on the handling of this very great and intricate problem, and appreciate the probable effects upon the domestic lives of the people concerned.

It is stated that labour controls and direction have been reimposed. I am sure we all regret the necessity for that having to be done. In a democratic country the one thing that we would avoid, and, notwithstanding our knowledge of the economic difficulties as they have existed, we have in fact tried to avoid, is the necessity of registration and direction. But one is bound to confess that appeals to those people who contribute very little towards the economic well-being of the country apparently have no effect. They may be greater in number than I believe; it is exceedingly difficult to say. It does mean, in my opinion, that one may do a

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As one who has spent the major portion of his life in industry, I know that to-day there exists a greater measure of good will, and certainly far more machinery of consultation, than ever existed before. I think it would do no harm to say in your Lordships' House how much we appreciate the approach that has been made to this problem. Particularly in the post-war years we have achieved a measure of consultation over a wide field of industry, with regard to which we had the greatest possible difficulty at the end of the First World War. I played some part in the struggle for what were then termed "managerial functions." I think we have outgrown that to-day. I believe that the enlightened business people of our country, and employers in general, have come to understand that men who invest their lives in industry, equally with those who invest their money, claim as a right some influence in moulding the policy of the industry.

completed shall we know the benefits which will accrue from that general policy.

It is also with considerable pleasure that I read of the intention to design and promote the expansion of production of all kinds within the Empire. I have just returned from Canada. It was not my first visit, and I am not speaking with the first flush of enthusiasm of one who has only seen the country once. There, amongst all sections of the community—and I think I covered a very wide range, social groups, trade union conventions, conferences, and so on—I found that the good will towards the Mother Country was almost embarrassing. They put one question: How can we help? I know that that charitable expression is mainly in the direction of helping by personal contributions of food, and so on, and in that direction they are doing wonderful work. But the business men to whom I spoke said this: "We want British goods because we know their quality, and providing they can be secured at the right price, commensurate with our population there is no greater market for British quality products." As I took my good wife with me I had to visit a few stores, and there one experienced some degree of aggravation. If you turned up a carpet that you would have been glad to have in your own house, or looked at a cup and saucer—indeed, whatever it was, if it was a quality product—there was the stamp: "Made in Great Britain." And that, of course is a symbol which one can appreciate even in such circumstances.

I think we ought also to make some reference to that very generous gesture which has been made recently in South Africa. Those are the kind of things which make the phraseology a reality when we refer to the Mother Country and the Empire. The same applies to Australia and New Zealand. Sometimes I wonder whether we are pushing the right button. It seems to me that there is a fund of good will and a desire to work together and help each other which so far we have not made the most of, and I sincerely hope that it is the intention, as outlined in the gracious Speech from the Throne, that some special measures will be undertaken to get the Empire representatives together to see whether some greater contribution, some brighter prospect of a greater co-ordination of

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Address in Reply to

[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech

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[Lord Dukeston.]

Empire interests, cannot be built up. I am sure that that is not only the mind of the Dominions and the rest of the Empire, but also that of our people at home.

I conclude by saying that we are all painfully aware that we have reached a period in our history in which we have to create something in the nature of a great revival in order to persuade our people that we can no longer get out of this rut by one group believing that they can win some advantage to themselves whilst other people mark time. It really cannot be done in that way. The bed-rock of our economic system is such that the moment you move with one section its influence upon other groups is automatic. Let us say to our people frankly and courageously: "The choice before the country to-day is between an increased effort to secure a 10 per cent. increase in our production and the prospect of a lowering of the standard of life of our people." If it is put to them straightforwardly in that manner I have every confidence that the work-people, the employers and all other sections of the community will rise to a sense of their responsibility and that we shall win through this crisis to emerge a better nation for the experience through which we have passed. I beg to move.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty as followeth—

"Most Gracious Sovereign—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the most gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

—(Lord Dukeston.)

3.15 p.m.

LORD QUIBELL: My Lords, I beg leave to second the Motion which has been so ably moved by my noble friend, and in doing so I too feel conscious of the honour that has been done me in being privileged to second the Motion to-day. May I say first of all that I am very pleased at the reference in paragraph 2 in the gracious Speech. Paragraph 2 says:—

"I am confident that in these times of hardship My people will demonstrate once again to the world their qualities of resolu-

tion and energy. With sustained effort this nation will continue to play its full part in leading the world back to prosperity and freedom."

One of the most important points in the gracious Speech is contained in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6, which refer principally to agriculture. I am myself pleased—as I have no doubt your Lordships are pleased—that so far as the Government are concerned they have decided to ask this great industry to make a still greater contribution in order to earn dollars for this country. I believe, as I know many of your Lordships believe, that great as has been the contribution that agriculture has made to this country in the past, it has never had so great a contribution to make, and has never been called upon to make so great a contribution in peace time as it is called upon to make now. I am perfectly certain that those engaged in the industry will respond, but they can only do so if we provide the tools to enable them to do the job.

Now where are they? In the past housing has been sadly neglected. During the last two years priorities have been given in certain instances for housing. But what has happened? In the main, the rural councils have so far failed, except in very few cases, to give priority to agricultural labourers. Difficult though it is in rural England to find proper accommodation for agricultural labourers and recruits in this great industry, it is going to be infinitely more difficult to solve this great problem in six or eight months' time, when the German prisoners of war, who have been doing good work on our land in recent months, go back in accelerated numbers.

I am fully aware that the circumstances in which we live are very grave. There are very few of us who do not realize that. We know perfectly well that in some cases great savings have to be made in capital expenditure. But if we are to succeed in fulfilling the policy laid down in the gracious Speech, we cannot afford to economize in the amount of money to be spent in rehousing our people in the countryside. Indeed, we must accelerate housing, even at the expense of some of the larger schemes in some of the industrial cities and towns of this country. Whatever you may say about mechanization—and we want mechanization there—the human element still counts, and

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am delighted that in the gracious Speech the Government have indicated that they intend to pass a Bill to provide for the prevention of this pollution.

There is another proposal in the gracious Speech that will give pleasure to those of us who have had any experience of public life and administration on local authorities, and that is an amendment of the machinery for rating and valuation. During the course of a fairly long experience—it is nearly forty years since I first served on a local authority—I have come to realize that if there is anything that really does need reform it is the present system of rating. I can picture two men working in the same industry, having the same family responsibilities; one of them likes to go to the dogs (in more senses than one), to spend his money as he goes along, and to enjoy it to the full. His neighbour is a man who thinks that he would like to do something for his family; perhaps to put a bathroom, and perhaps an additional bedroom, in his house and make his home a real home for his family. Perhaps he has saved his money all his life in order to be able to do so. What happens? A man comes over when he has put in his bathroom and bedroom and says "Jones, what have you been doing here?" Jones answers: "I have put in a bathroom and a bedroom for my family and I have been saving my money for twenty years to do it." "My word," says the official, "if only you had spent your money on going to the dogs or the pictures or racing or gambling or whatever it is, I should not have had to come here to see you. I am required by the local authority to impose a perpetual fine of £2 a year on you for what you have done." That is precisely what operates in the rating system to-day. I could mention other instances. I remember a man who built four houses, and the overseers came along to look at them. All the houses looked exactly alike, but one of the overseers noticed that one of the houses had a letter box on the door. He said "This is a different type of house." Such was the system that the rateable value of that house was increased £1 because there was a fifteen-penny letter box on the door! I think there should be a revaluation.

There are other kinds of cases. There is the case of the man who goes to live five miles out of a town and enjoys all

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[Lord Quibell.]
the services provided. There should be an amendment of rating so that such a man pays for the services he enjoys. I hope that the proposals will end some of the anomalies, dozens of which I could mention. Some agricultural labourers pay more in drainage and land rates than some of the people living in the bigger houses in some of the agricultural districts of this country.

Another proposal in this gracious Speech that appeals to us, I think, is the abolition of the Poor Law as we know it. I myself have always thought this should be done. Many times I have spoken rather harshly to relieving officers. As regards the relief they gave when I was a boy, an old man came round and gave us half-a-crown each; he did not give us less because it was not possible. How much is given depends where you go; it depends on the type of man and also on the type of authority that he is serving. If he is serving some of the authorities that I know, they look upon him as being a wonderfully efficient man if he can deprive anybody whom he goes to relieve. Every one of us will be pleased to see recognition of the fact that the present system is dead and gone, and this realization is embodied in the new system that the Government have spoken of in the gracious Speech.

Reference has also been made in the Gracious Speech to the Paris Conference and to the United Nations. I really hope that something good comes out of these conferences. I have attended so many in my life, and we have had so many since the war, that one has almost got mixed up with the number of conferences of one kind and another that have been held; and yet we have not got very far with things up to now. I wonder why it is. I cannot quite understand why, though the whole of Europe is being bled almost white, yet at the present time there seems as little confidence between one nation and another as there was before this last great conflict took place. I sometimes wonder whether the only thing that will put this world right is illustrated well in a little story to which I hope the right reverend Prelate will listen for a moment. It concerns a couple who had a mischievous little boy. The mother had enough of him in the day time, so, when father came home at night, she thought she would go

to the pictures and leave little Willie with his father, so that he should know the kind of boy he was. She left him at home, and the boy kept saying, "Dad this" and "Dad that." The father said to himself: "I am fed up with him," and he looked over to the window. He saw in the window a map of the world. He took this map of the world, tore it into almost a thousand pieces, and threw it on the floor. "Now, piece that together, Billy," he said. It seemed to be only about ten minutes before Willie said, "I've done it, dad." "Oh," said the father: "that lad again!" He said to the boy: "However have you done that?" "Well, dad," said the boy, "there is a map of the world on one side but there is a photo of a man on the other side, and I knew that if I had the man right I should have the world right." How true that really is! In 1910 I was one of Philip Snowden's colleagues, addressing meetings in this country—anti-militarist meetings in 1910. I have always profoundly believed that war was the enemy of mankind, and that unless society itself destroys war, then war itself will destroy society, and all that our present civilization stands for.

Yet here we are, faced with the position that we have to-day. Some people say it is because human nature is so bad. Human nature is not bad. It is only bad when you appeal to the selfishness, if you like to the mercenary instincts of a man, bargaining with him. There are occasions when that selfishness disappears—as, for example, when he goes down a mine, or when there is life to save at sea. If only we can harness that wonderful spirit which he then displays to this Conference in Paris, and with our other neighbours in Europe, if we can harness that good will that is shown at the bottom of a mine where you can see the best of human nature, if we can harness that spirit and have a different world and a different Europe, I believe that human nature will not break down. If it does, the foundations upon which the Christian religion is built—and Christianity itself—must fail, as must my ideal of Socialism. But human nature will not break down, for the faith upon which it is founded is the faith that has been founded upon a rock. I believe that under healthier and happier conditions humanity may rise to heights undreamed of now. The most exquisite Utopias that have been pictured by our

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poets and our idealists will to our children seem but dim and broken lights compared with that great day. All that we need is strength and courage, prudence and faith—faith, above all, which dares to believe that justice and love are not impossible and that more than the best that men can dream of shall one day be realized by men. I beg to second the Motion.

3.37 p.m.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, before I proceed to discuss the humble Address in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne, I should like, if I may, to pay a tribute to the notable and eloquent way in which the proposer and the seconder have performed their task. It is never an easy task, especially in the days of Party Government. They have to be, as I think the noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, himself said, so far as possible, non-controversial on extremely controversial subjects. I thought, and I am sure that all your Lordships will agree, that they both of them acquitted themselves extremely well, though I noticed that they both of them assiduously avoided the largest fence.

The noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, is a comparative newcomer to this House, but he has already made a name for himself by his sincere and thoughtful speeches. The speech to which we have listened this afternoon was certainly no exception to that rule. He knows industrial labour, I suppose, as well as anybody in this country, and he will always be listened to here. I should like to congratulate him. I thought he made a very good job of what was inevitably a difficult task, and I know how much we shall look forward to further contributions from him.

I should like also to congratulate the noble Lord, Lord Quibell, who has seconded the Address and who has just sat down. Lord Quibell is already becoming a very old friend to noble Lords in all parts of the House. He is the kind of Englishman, if I may say so with all deference to him, whom we all admire—bluff, forthright and independent-minded. Indeed, I often wonder how he ever got into the Party to which he belongs! I have wondered even more, as I have listened to his speeches, why he stays there or why they keep him! Sometimes I have almost seemed to feel, I might say, his astral body sitting by my side. To-day,

on the whole, I thought the noble Lord was on his good behaviour, and I should think his colleagues must have heaved a sigh of relief at getting off so easily, though, even so, they must have had some anxious moments. At any rate, there is one thing of which I am quite sure, and that is that noble Lords in all parts of the House enjoyed every minute of his speech, and I should like to congratulate him on adding to the already considerable reputation that he enjoys here.

Now, my Lords, I would like to turn to the business of the day, to the gracious Speech, and I hope noble Lords will forgive me if I detain them for rather longer than I usually do. But the canvas is a rather large one and there is a great deal to be said, especially on this particular occasion. As your Lordships know, the debate on the Address fulfils a most valuable function in the Parliamentary year. It provides an opportunity both for a review of the events of the past and for examining the proposals of the Government as to the future, and it gives to Parliament a chance to survey the national scene as a whole, in a way that is not possible at any other time; and this year I suggest that such a survey is more than ever desirable. It is now just over two years since the present Government came into power. At that time, your Lordships will remember—and it is not unnatural—a note of great optimism was sounded by the spokesmen of the Labour Party. Not only was the war over, but, for the first time in British history, a Socialist Government had been returned to power by a great majority. Things had been said at the General Election which must, I am afraid, make rather painful reading to noble Lords opposite, if they can steel their courage to face the past.

I would like to give one or two quotations, because we are bound to forget these things. There was a speech by Mr. Greenwood, whom we had hoped to see in this House: unfortunately, that has been postponed, although I hope we shall one day see him with us. He said at that time:

"You want a home. Tories are making promises. Labour will do the job. It did it in the past."

Then there is Sir Stafford Cripps, who now occupies almost the most important position in the Government. He said:

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As a result the country has at last had the chance of experiencing the blessings of Socialism as applied in practice. The Bank of England has been nationalized, the coal industry has been nationalized, the civil aviation industry has been nationalized, road and rail transport have been nationalized, controls have been put on almost everything, and things that are not yet controlled are rapidly being brought under control. A vast army of State servants has been enlisted, capital has been directed, and now labour is to be directed, and, so far as I could make out from Lord Dukeston's speech, is shortly to be conscripted. Therefore, from the point of view of the good honest Socialist things ought to be going swimmingly. If we are not in heaven itself we ought to be at least at the gates. At any rate there ought to be a new spirit of optimism and prosperity apparent throughout the country. And yet, surprisingly enough, what do we find? To this I am sure that noble Lords opposite will be bound to agree. This

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country has never been more depressed, it has never been more disillusioned, it has never been more frustrated than it is today. The outlook has never been bleaker.

It is perfectly true—and they can quite fairly claim for this—that money wages have risen throughout the country. But these wages are very largely valueless, for, after all, the only value of wages is to enable one to increase the comforts and amenities of life, and these things are almost unobtainable and are getting scarcer with every morning that passes. And we have been warned by Ministers that they will get even scarcer. When they can be found, they can only too often be bought with official licences, and those licences are almost impossible to get, how can the ordinary citizen buy what he wants. He can only buy what he is given. That variety which was the great delight and merit of free enterprise has entirely gone. And inflation, the danger of which only a few months ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer said was happily past, is already an accomplished fact. Taxation is at a fantastic height and it shows no signs of any reduction; and every morning the discouraged citizens when they open their paper read new statements by Ministers, each more gloomy than the last.

Now, my Lords, what is the conclusion that the ordinary man must draw from these events? It is this: That however good the intentions may be—and I fully grant that the Government and their supporters have very good intentions—the result of Socialist theory as applied in practice is, or at any rate in our experience it has been, that everybody gets a little less of everything, from liberty to the smallest necessities and amenities of life. And what they can get they only get with the greatest difficulty, partially, at any rate, through over-elaboration of the State machine. I believe that I speak not only for a great many Conservatives but also for many people who used to be called at the last election “doubtfuls,” but who are becoming, perhaps rather less doubtful than they were—when I say that it is really impossible to run a great country on that basis. The complication and expense, the demands on man-power are too great. It is officialdom run mad. Noble Lords opposite will forgive me if I speak with some bitterness, but I feel that it is a tragic

sight to see one's country brought so low by the activities and nostrums of political doctrinaires.

Nor is the performance of the Government in the wider sphere of international affairs very much happier. At the end of the war, I suppose, the name of Britain stood higher than it has ever stood before in our history. Other countries had seen our great and lonely fight against such a World Power as had never been known before. They had seen our exhibition of endurance and our ultimate victory. But what is our position now? We are on very poor terms with Russia, with whom we were told at the Election a Labour Government alone could establish close and cordial relations. If noble Lords opposite want me to do so I can give them relevant quotations for statements to this effect made by several very distinguished members of the Government. We seem bent on discouraging our best friends in the United States. By a really remarkable stroke of foreign policy, we have managed to antagonize both the Jews and the Arabs in the Middle East. We have abandoned India, which had enjoyed nearly 100 years of peace under British administration, prematurely, with the result that there has been bloodshed on a vast scale. We are retiring, as the Paymaster-General said the other day—with, I thought obvious satisfaction—“all along the line.” Both at home and abroad there has been a deplorable deterioration in our position in the past two years.

I know that we shall be told by Government spokesmen that this is not all their fault, that it is the result of world conditions; and of course there is a very great measure of truth in this. The world is undoubtedly out of joint. The elaborate machinery for the exchange of goods has been thrown completely out of gear by the shocks of war. I do not want to argue unfairly in that respect. Any Government that had been in power during this period, I do not care of what Party, would have had a difficult and delicate task in redressing the balance. But surely that is all the more reason for not causing further dislocation by gratuitous experiments in the domestic field. No one could have expected this Government to abandon their Socialist principles. No one expected it or desired them to do so if they sincerely held those principles. But surely the only

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[The Marquess of Salisbury.] wise course would have been to exercise some discretion in applying them. That, as your Lordships know, was the course that was adopted by the Socialist Government in Belgium; and Belgium to-day, after four years of enemy occupation, is in a far happier situation now and is—at least this is what people who have been there tell me—rapidly approaching normal. That was the course adopted by Holland and other Western European countries. Any visitor to those countries, certainly any visitor to Holland and Belgium—that is anyone that can get permission to visit them and the means to do so, which is not quite so easy at the present time—will tell you that the spirit in those countries is entirely different from what it is in this country.

And now we are experiencing the inevitable fruits of this sincere but mistaken and reckless policy. The Government have largely taken the control of the delicate business of trading out of the hands of those who were accustomed to operate it. They have removed the natural incentives from the private employer, and therefore they have to take over more and more the direction of their efforts. They have removed natural incentives from the workmen, what was called by the *Economist* the carrot or the stick, and now they have to direct labour. Ministers are becoming—and this applies both to the nationalized and unnationalized industries—the real arbiters of industrial policy. It is a task for which they are not in the least fitted. They have neither the training nor the experience. In short, no doubt with the best will in the world, the Government have over-estimated their capacity. As I think, the Prime Minister himself suggested in a recent speech, they have tried to do too much in too short a time. As a result, the country is in the position of a man who has had a serious illness and has not waited for the healing process of convalescence but has rushed immediately into strenuous work. Of course, as we all know, such a man is likely to overstrain his powers and have a serious relapse. That is exactly what has happened to us. The burden put upon the State machine has been too great. That vast machine which the Government have created is tottering and almost collapsing under its own weight.

Nor indeed—and I say this with great deference in the presence of Lord Duke-ston—in practice is the Socialist State quite master in its own house. If it has a plan it cannot impose it. Behind the Government stand, as we all know, the great trade unions who impose their will on it. I said this a year and a half ago and it was denied hotly at that time by the noble Viscount, Lord Addison, the Leader of the House. But it has proved to be more and more true since then that the unions do impose their will. And many of the Leaders of those trade unions are not—I do not say it is true of all of them, of course—actuated either by business principles or by a broad national outlook. They are mainly concerned—it is quite natural, for that is their function—to serve the interests of the particular section of the community which they represent. That, it is clear from their speeches, is the outlook of such men as Mr. Horner or even Mr. Shinwell. They regard themselves—certainly Mr. Horner regards himself—as the representative of the miners and he thinks of nothing but the interests of the miners. Very likely he mistakes the interests of the miners—but at any rate he does not attempt to take a wider view.

I think that there is definite evidence that the Government are beginning to realize the dangers of the situation into which they may have stumbled. They are becoming conscious that they have moved too fast, and they are making considerable efforts to slow down the pace. In the gracious Speech to which we listened this morning there was far less talk of Socialism and far more talk of production. If that had been the tone of the gracious Speech three years ago, our situation might be very different to-day. Indeed if I may say so, in many ways—with one rather startling exception, to which I intend to advert in a few minutes—I do not think that the gracious Speech this year is nearly so harmful as its predecessors during the two previous years. For one thing, there is not the same tumultuous spate of legislation and the legislation mentioned is not quite so far-reaching. For instance, I notice that the iron and steel industry is not to be nationalized this year, as had been foreshadowed in some quarters. I do not want to sound a paean of triumph over this. I recognize that praise by the Opposition is not an

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On the other hand—and here I find myself at issue with the noble Lord, Lord Dukeston—I am bound to regret that it has been found necessary to nationalize the gas industry. I know that very strong arguments can be adduced in favour of this course, but as Lord Dukeston knows and as we all know, the gas industry has for long been one of the best-managed private industries, one of the industries which has been noted for its consideration of the interests of its workmen, an industry which has in many cases taken them into partnership in management and in profits. I cannot but feel that to nationalize this above all other industries must be counted a retrograde move. On the other hand, we shall all warmly welcome the reassurances with regard to agriculture. “All possible help” is a far-reaching phrase. But, like the noble Lord, Lord Quibell, I would say it is not merely promises and assurances that are needed. There must be performance, and we shall watch very carefully in this House, where we have a great many experts, to see how these assurances and pledges are carried out.

speaks at the end of the day's debate, will be able to give some explanation of this omission. Perhaps it was forgotten. Anyway, we shall be very interested to hear what he has to say on this very important question.

Now I would come to foreign policy (I am sorry to take so long but I have a very wide field to cover), about which the noble Lord, Lord Quibell, in the closing passages of his speech made such very moving references. Here again, with the broad statement of principle in the gracious Speech I do not suppose any of your Lordships would disagree. Of course we all want good relations with other countries. Of course we all found our policy on a strong and effective United Nations Organization. That is common ground among every Party in the State. But we must face the fact that the United Nations Organization is at present neither strong nor is it united. It is rent by deep divisions, between Russia and her followers on one side and the rest of the

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Finally, I come to the most interesting and in many ways the most surprising item in the gracious Speech—the proposal to amend the Parliament Act of 1911. That rather cryptic phrase presumably relates to the powers of your Lordships' House, not to the membership

To choose this moment to introduce an extremely contentious measure, with no possible bearing on our present necessities, is surely the counsel of madness. It is not as if your Lordships' House by obstructive action has opposed, or even delayed, any measure which the Government have thought fit to bring in. We have passed all those on which the Government obtained a mandate at the General Election, although often we disliked them very much. It is true that we have found it necessary in a number of cases to introduce Amendments, to improve Bills and to make them more workable. But, after all, that is our function; that is our constitutional duty; and, if I may say so without blowing our own trumpet too much, I think we have performed it with skill and moderation. We have, at any rate, received the thanks of the Ministers concerned. When only a few weeks ago, just before Parliament rose for the Summer Recess, the Government asked for new and very far-reaching powers to deal with the economic position, your Lordships will remember

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and so on: Your Lordships and the country will note that the purpose at that time (and this can be confirmed, I think, by the noble Viscount, Lord Samuel, who was then a member of the Government; or by the noble Viscount, Lord Simon, who was his colleague at that time) was to create a Chamber on a popular and not a hereditary basis, and any provision to alter the powers of the Second Chamber was linked to that proposal and dependent on it.

"We give clear notice that we will not tolerate obstruction of the people's will by the House of Lords."

The excuse which has apparently been put forward in the Socialist Press (which I read on Sunday to my usual advantage) was that a mandate was given by the Preamble of the Parliament Act of 1911. I have looked at the Preamble which, curiously enough, is numbered thirteen in the Public General Acts of that year. I find it reads as follows:

This is borne out by a very generous remark made by the acting Leader of the House, the noble Viscount, Lord Hall, on September 9 last. In the speech which he made on that occasion the noble Viscount said:

"I freely and gladly acknowledge, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that noble Lords opposite have hitherto used their majority here in a moderate and statesmanlike way, and in a manner which has given us on this side of the House no real or reasonable ground for complaint."

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[The Marquess of Salisbury.]
In reference to the word "hitherto," which no doubt the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, will take up, the noble Viscount, Lord Hall, went on to urge your Lordships not to press the Motion on the economic situation which had been put on the Paper. We did not press it; we withdrew it at once without any debate. That seems to demolish entirely the very specious argument which was put forward in the *Daily Herald*, and may be put forward in other quarters.

Let me quite unequivocally state that, in our view, the Government have no mandate for constitutional reform. It is clearly a matter for further reference to the electorate, and we are quite prepared to take the view of the electorate on it. If the proposition of the Government were merely that the membership of your Lordships' House should be reformed, I believe there to be very considerable sympathy with that view in the ranks of your Lordships. It is an illusion of supporters of the Government that Peers are hanging on desperately to their rights and privileges. There is no foundation at all for any such suggestion. The question of the reform of the membership of this House has been frequently discussed during the years before the war, and I can say—and I think the Lord Chancellor himself knows this—that such Conservative leaders as my father, who was a Leader of the House for many years, was always in favour of bringing new elements into this House and seeing a reform of the membership: and that, I think, would apply to the very great majority of the Conservative Peers on this side of the House. In any case, the position of present members of your Lordships' House is not an unmixed blessing; and this is a thing which should be said. They have to work very long hours, often at the expense of their own private duties. Moreover, we may proudly say that we are the only section of the community to-day who are not actuated by the profit motive. I should have thought that that ought to have endeared us to the Government.

My Lords, a sensible, practical scheme of reform of the membership of this House would, I believe, be welcomed by noble Lords in all parts of the House. But a mere reduction of powers—that is quite a different thing. Were the period of the veto to be further reduced—I do not know

if that is the proposal, but that is what it looks likely to be—that would mean in effect the introduction into this country of single-chamber government, with all the dangers involved. It is no good your Lordships or the country blinking this fact. It would remove the last protection of the British people against extreme action by a Government with a temporary majority. I am not throwing stones at the present Government. But we may have other Governments in the future, and that is the danger to which it lays the people of this country open. To single-chamber government I believe the vast majority of the British people are unalterably opposed. Yet no doubt that is exactly what men like the present Minister of Health want. He is quite ready—and I understand his point of view entirely—to postpone temporarily the nationalization of the iron and steel industry. If he can make the Second Chamber impotent, the way is open to nationalize iron or steel or take any more extreme measures he wants at any time he wants to take them. The next step of him and his friends will be to get rid of their present leaders and assume power themselves. I cannot understand why moderate men like those who occupy the Government Front Bench in your Lordships' House have agreed to this proposal. I should have thought they would have far sooner have resigned. It is not a question of the prestige or authority of your Lordships' House which is at stake; it is a question of the welfare of the whole of these islands.

And what about the noble Viscount, the Leader of the House? He has been absent through all these vital discussions. He is still away from this country, and yet he is vitally concerned. Has he been consulted and has he agreed to this very important amendment of the Constitution? We have not yet seen the Bill. When it reaches your Lordships' House we shall, as always, consider it objectively. We do not want to pre-judge the issue; we want to see in black and white what the Government intend. But we shall not be deterred from doing what we conceive to be our duty by any threats, however horrific, or by any soap-box sneers by the Minister of Health or anybody else. I can only say that I bitterly regret—as I think we all do on this side of the House—that the Government have introduced this new element of discord at this

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As to the gracious Speech itself, it contains two surprises. At the very head of the list is mentioned a measure which is to be proposed in the Session which is now opening. The paragraph is: "Legislation will be introduced to amend the Parliament Act of 1911." Further down the list we are promised a reform of the franchise and of electoral procedure. What these measures mean we do not know. Our curiosity has been whetted but has not been satisfied. I listened with close attention to the speeches of the proposer and seconder

Mr. Asquith said, in 1911, that this question of substituting for the House of Lords as it was a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of a hereditary basis was a matter that brooked no delay. Thirty-six years have gone by since then and there has been a good deal of "brooking" but there is still no agreement. From indications that have been given from quarters which have

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[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech

[Viscount Samuel.]

but which nevertheless has a two to one majority in the House of Commons. That Mr. Churchill condemns. I do not recall—I may have omitted to notice it—any occasion when the Conservative Party condemned it after the General Election of 1935—the previous General Election, when the Conservative Party, with just a little more than half the votes of the electorate, also had a two to one majority over all others in the House of Commons. What we of the Liberal Party have been declaring for many years past is that our system of election should be reformed in order that each voter might vote for the candidate whom he really desires to see elected, without any question coming in of splitting the anti-Socialist vote, or splitting the Progressive vote. Let the people vote for whom they like free from all such circumstances under the system of the single transferable vote or the alternative vote, and then let Parliament reflect the wishes of the people as so declared. Only then shall we have a truly democratic Constitution.

There is one other matter, and one other only, on this constitutional question, quite separate from those upon which I have already been speaking, to which I should like to refer. An important step has been taken during the Recess which is that of a gradual and almost imperceptible change in our Constitution such as frequently has happened in our past history; there have been changes which afterwards are seen to have been following an important, although hardly recognized, principle. In the debate in your Lordships' House in August, I ventured briefly to say that our economic difficulties were partly due to the fact that the structure of our Government is wrong and inadequate to cope with the enormous range of subjects at home and abroad, economic and political, with which the Cabinet now have to deal. I suggested that the structure of the Cabinet should be changed, and that I further elaborated in an article which some of your Lordships may have seen in *The Times* of a month ago, in which I put forward concrete though tentative proposals. Mr. Amery and others have written in much the same sense and have proposed various schemes.

It is essential that the Cabinet should have time to think and time to plan. Many people urge that there should be constituted a Planning Board to deal with

these economic problems. The Cabinet itself should be the Planning Board and can be the only adequate Planning Board. I suggested in my scheme that the Cabinet ought to consist of ten members, most of whom should have no departmental duties. I suggested five groups of departments, each of which should have one of the senior members of the Cabinet as its Chairman who should represent it in this smaller Cabinet. Of those five groups three have been almost unostensibly and almost accidentally created. Not long ago, the three Service Ministers were excluded from the Cabinet, and a Minister without departmental duties, the Minister of Defence, was brought into it. Recently, Sir Stafford Cripps has been appointed to a new office, that of Minister of Economic Affairs, and he will preside over a number of departmental Ministers dealing with various aspects of economics. The Foreign Secretary has been enabled to devolve a large part of his heavy burden of departmental work upon two Ministers who are not in the Cabinet, but who are of Cabinet rank—the Minister of State and the Chancellor of the Duchy. He will be presiding over what is in effect a Sub-Cabinet dealing with external affairs. When some fresh Government is formed, will it be possible to bring the scheme into existence as a comprehensive whole? It is very interesting to see that we have already gone some way but, under the pressure of the actual needs of the case, only half-way towards the constitution of these Sub-Cabinets under the chairmanship of several non-departmental Ministers. The smaller Cabinet was recommended thirty years ago by the Haldane Committee and, as it usually takes about thirty years for any obviously necessary reform to be adopted in this country, it is now about ripe for completion.

Of the other measures in the long list in the gracious Speech I shall refer to none in detail, but I will only say that I rejoice to find that the Criminal Justice Bill, which was first drafted by the noble Viscount, Lord Templewood, when he was Sir Samuel Hoare, is to be introduced during this Session of Parliament. That is a Bill generally desired by enlightened opinion. The Care of Children Bill, in regard to children who are deprived of normal home life, is also, we are glad to see, to be included in this Session of Parliament. That is the Bill which is

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founded upon the invaluable Curtis Report, which has been debated in your Lordships' House, and I am sure your Lordships will be very ready to pass that Bill when it comes to our attention. Then there is the Bill dealing with the national status of married women. British women are subject to the loss of nationality if they marry foreigners, and, on the other hand, foreign women automatically acquire British nationality if they marry British subjects. These matters have given rise to a grievance very deeply felt. The case has long been recognized as overwhelming. For my own part, it is many years since, in Parliament after Parliament, I have advocated this measure, and I am glad to see that it is before Parliament this year. I hope that no circumstance will lead to its miscarriage.

I am exceedingly glad to notice one Bill that is not included, and that is the Bill for the nationalization of iron and steel. The gracious Speech makes no reference to it. Last year, in the Debate on the Address, I urged that such a Bill ought not to be introduced until the Government were able to show a case establishing the merits of nationalization in this particular instance. The present Government have repeatedly declared that they are not seeking simultaneously to nationalize everything for the sake of nationalization. They have said they recognize that the duty of the burden of proof lies upon them, and that it is for them to show in each case that this course is the right one to take. The Government must not expect Parliament to pass a measure of this character until there has been very careful study of the whole subject and until we have been enabled, through material presented to us, to form a considered judgment on the merits of the particular case—as I would suggest, by an impartial inquiry. I would suggest that, as the Government say they are not going to introduce this Bill during this Session but during the latter part of the present Parliament, they might use the interval in an impartial inquiry into the whole matter, so that Parliament may be fully seized of all the facts of the case, and may be made aware of any defects which it is thought require remedy, and also of such valuable elements which it is desirable to preserve. So far there is no reason whatsoever to say that this industry is one in any degree suitable for national ownership.

With regard to the other matters I do not propose to say much. On world affairs all that can be said is that it is a great disappointment that the situation is, in almost every direction, in no way improved as against what it was several months ago. As we all know, the Government are not mainly to blame for that. The chief cause is the non-co-operation of Russia, which exposes to so much danger both Russia herself and us all. However, this is not the time to discuss that matter. The question of the strength of the Forces and the national defences is to be debated in your Lordships' House next week; and, similarly, the economic situation in a two days' debate. There I do not think it is possible to acquit His Majesty's Government of many examples of mismanagement and of avoidable failure in the economic sphere. It is true that the adverse forces have been strong and are still operative, and Sir Stafford Cripps, who is bringing fresh zeal and energy into the handling of the situation, seems to me, for all his efforts, up to the present to be making very little progress. It seems rather like the case of a man in an underground railway station who has got on to the wrong escalator, and who finds himself continually going down when he wants to go up and whose utmost efforts only succeed in keeping him where he is.

The most cheerful thing we can say of the conditions of to-day, about which we are so dissatisfied, is that when they come next year to be compared with those that will be prevailing then, our present conditions may be seen in retrospect to have been much better than we think them now.

4.55 p.m.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: My Lords, I should like to begin by associating myself with the congratulations which have been offered to the two noble Lords who opened this debate. I think that any stranger coming in here, and unaware of the various ways in which the different Parties sit, would have found it difficult to gather from the greater part of their speeches to which Party they belong. I think their speeches were an illustration of that national unity which I feel is so essential at the present time. I think that everyone in this House is fully aware of the gravity of the crisis into which we have now entered, but I am not sure if the gravity is generally realized

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[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech.

[The Lord Archbishop of York.]
outside. I believe there are large numbers of the general public who believe that we have encountered a sudden squall which will quickly pass away, and have not realized that in front of us we have months, and possibly years, of stormy and difficult weather, and that we shall not avoid shipwreck unless there is shown great courage, great statesmanship and great unity.

I believe myself that there are three model qualities which are absolutely essential if the nation is to survive this crisis. First, there must be honest hard work on the part of every individual and of every class in the community. There must also be unselfishness—and I am thinking not merely of the unselfishness of individuals but of the unselfishness of classes and of various interests and industries. There must also be unity. Notwithstanding what was said by the noble Viscount opposite, I want to spend a few minutes in stressing this need for national unity. Let me disarm criticism from the Benches in front of me by saying at once that there could be nothing more unfair than to appeal to one section, to one Party alone, to abstain from controversial matter and from criticism. I feel that it is deplorable and humiliating that we are entering upon one of the greatest crises this nation has ever had to encounter as a people divided, criticizing one another. The Government should have full credit for the way in which they have succeeded in reaching agreement with the unions. I think that is a remarkable achievement. I hope they have been equally successful in reaching agreement with those who manage the various industries, and I hope also that they will fully recognize that it is one thing to reach agreement with the unions and their representatives in London, and quite another to reach agreement with the various industries in different parts of the country. They look upon the questions involved very largely as local, and they are not prepared to accept orders given from above without careful local explanation and discussion.

I am mainly concerned about the political disunion which we find in the country to-day. It is very difficult to hear or to read any speech without the first part of it, at any rate, being devoted either to attacking the other Party or to a statement in self-defence. And while the leaders of the different Parties almost

invariably show a great deal of restraint, and speak with a sense of responsibility, the same restraint and the same sense of responsibility is not always found in the constituencies. In the constituencies, at the present time, there is being waged a controversy, a political Party controversy, with the kind of bitterness which might be found immediately before a General Election. Here I am bound to say something about the pamphlet (I have not yet read it myself, but I have seen extracts from it) issued by the Central Labour Party, I believe, and called, I understand, *The A.B.C. of the Crisis*. That pamphlet has in it a statement to the effect that the Opposition are trying to drive the people into starvation. That kind of statement is disgraceful in itself, and is calculated to create intense bitterness between the various Parties. I hope that I have quoted the pamphlet accurately. As I say, I have not read it myself, but I have read about it in *The Times*.

LORD WALKDEN: My Lords, I have no recollection of seeing any such bald and bare statement in the print referred to when I went through it.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: My Lords, I hope that I have not been mistaken in what I have said, but I think it is correct that *The Times* stated that *The A.B.C. of the Crisis* says that the Opposition wish to drive the workers to the point of starvation to create unemployment. I am certain that that is a statement of which no one on these Benches would approve, and I hope very much indeed that responsible members of the Government will see that a statement of that kind is withdrawn. It is bound to embitter feeling up and down the country. I must add that I could quote things emanating from the other side. I could quote bitter and unfair statements made by various speakers up and down the country against the present Government. This disunion is doing great harm. It is doing harm to the nation. The nation will not easily realize the gravity of the crisis if it finds debating points in the speeches of the various leaders. It will believe that this is again the old battle between Tweedledum and Tweedledee and that neither is going to be very much worse off in the end. It must be bad, I think, for our leaders to have to spend valuable time on these controversial issues instead of on those matters which really are of

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first-class interest. Moreover, it does harm to the reputation of our nation abroad. I heard a broadcast the other day by a speaker who has recently, I think, been in America. He said that our speakers do not always realize how the bitter remarks which they make are exaggerated and misunderstood abroad. I myself have seen letters written by well-wishers of ours in the Dominions expressing their wonder as to whether we shall be able to survive the crisis in view of the divisions in our own ranks.

I am not, for one moment, asking that there should be a Coalition Government. I know that that is entirely out of the question. I know that the present Government, with their vast majority, would not for a moment think of forming a Coalition Government. I am perfectly certain, too, that the last thing that the Opposition want to do is to enter into a Coalition Government. I am also certain that members of the Government are conscientiously convinced that their Government will alone enable the nation to survive the crisis, and I am sure that the Opposition are equally conscientiously convinced that the crisis will not be solved satisfactorily while the present Government are in office. But is there not a middle way? We have managed to keep foreign politics out of Party controversy. We have a very fine and noble tradition in that respect. Would it not be possible to take some of these questions dealing with this economic crisis entirely out of the ordinary run of Party controversy. It would, I know, be a counsel of perfection to suggest that all controversy should cease. I am not asking for that. So long as there is an Opposition there must be criticism, and so long as there is a Government the Government must defend their position. But surely there must be some way in which the various Parties could reach agreement on the main remedies which are required in the present crisis? It would be strengthening the Government for one thing. Later on, the Government may have to make decisions which may be extremely unpopular, decisions which are absolutely essential for the economic safety of the country. The Government may hesitate to make those necessary decisions if they know they will be at once exposed to the fire of Party criticism. On the other hand, there are a large number of members of the Opposition who are anxious to take their part in

endeavouring to solve the problems of this crisis. There are men who have had first-class experience of business administration, and who ought to be able to make their full contribution to the nation at this time.

Therefore, I venture to suggest that the Prime Minister should ask representatives of the other Parties to confer with some of the members of his Party, to see if they cannot find common ground upon which they could meet. I know that round-table conferences have often failed in the past. But even if this round-table conference failed it would not make the position worse than it is at the present time. And it might succeed in the formulation of a united policy on the most serious matters connected with the economic crisis. I can see that there are all kinds of difficulties. The matter has not been made easier by the Government proposing to introduce a Bill amending the Parliament Act. That may mean bitter controversy up and down the country. There are all kinds of difficulties of which a non-Party person like myself is probably totally unaware. Yet I feel that it is well worth while seeing if common agreement cannot be reached upon some of the main remedies required for the nation in this time of grave crisis. If such an agreement were reached it would hearten the nation, and it would enable our friends in other countries to see that the nation is facing this crisis with unity and courage. We should be able to look forward to the day when the nation would come out from this crisis able once again to make its full contribution to the prosperity and peace and freedom of the world.

5.9 p.m.

LORD ELTON: My Lords, I welcome and most heartily endorse everything that the most reverend Primate, the Archbishop of York, has just said about national unity, and I hope that your Lordships will bear with me for a very few minutes, since by our standards this is a comparatively late hour, if as a member, myself, of no Party I plead a cause which is not at all popular with politicians but which possesses, I believe, an immense, inarticulate backing in the country. If the citizens of this country could wake up one fine morning and read in their newspapers the news that all the three great political Parties had consented, as the most reverend Primate the Archbishop has suggested, to drop their

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[Lord Elton.]

differences for the moment, and to pool their resources in a combined effort to extricate the nation from the morass into which it is sinking, I believe that something like eight out of ten of them would welcome the news with much of that elation and much of that prescient sense of coming deliverance which electrified the nation on the morrow of the victory of El Alamein.

Every great crisis in our recent history, as in 1916 and 1940, has been surmounted by national unity. Without it, we could not have survived. And if any member of your Lordships' House supposes for a moment that our dangers to-day are less than they were in 1940, then I am afraid he has yet to learn the A.B.C. of the present crisis. The Press, of course, has little to say in favour of national unity just now. It seems to have written that off as for the moment no longer practical politics. But what the Press constantly does is to demand just that kind and quality of action which is unobtainable without national unity. Take an example almost at random. That Left Wing journal, the *New Statesman*, this week writes that our chance of pulling through depends absolutely on the skill with which the Government succeeds in mobilising popular good will and sense of personal responsibility; and much that was said by the noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, in the closing passages of his speech meant little more than just that appeal for a sense of national unity.

But the nation-wide good will for which we are always getting these appeals is unobtainable so long as many utterances, both by the Government and by the Opposition—and I am thinking of utterances outside your Lordships' House, where a decent neutrality is largely preserved by Ministers, by Government spokesmen and Opposition spokesmen—seem expressly designed to prolong and accentuate our disunity. Of course, one has to recognize, as the most reverend Primate the Archbishop obviously recognized, that Party warfare is formidably entrenched in every Party. From the Ministers and ex-Ministers down through members and candidates to the local chairmen and committee members, there is something like a nation-wide vested interest in Party warfare, and tens of thousands of sensible and respectable citizens are genuinely persuaded that the opposing

Party is something like a personal embodiment of evil. But behind the formidably entrenched partisans, let us try to remember that there waits the often addressed but seldom heard nation, who are now often disposed to ejaculate, "A plague o' both your houses!"

Of course, an alliance for the duration of the crisis, which the most reverend Primate has rightly said might well be a very long affair, would mean real sacrifices to all three of the historic Parties. The Labour Party, or at any rate a powerful section of the Labour Party, is still passionately convinced that this is a destined moment for the socialization of our economic structure, and of course the Labour Government has in its hands the magnificent instrument of an unprecedented majority.

It is not for an outsider to comment on the views of Socialist members, but I cannot help remembering that quite a lot of Socialist textbooks used to say that a collapsing market was the very worst possible setting on which to embark on a Socialist revolution. As to the unprecedented majority, well, the Liberals in 1916 and the Conservatives in 1940 had very effective majorities which they were doubtless reluctant to sacrifice, and any move towards unity would mean it was Labour's turn to make a sacrifice which was made by both the great Parties before. On the other hand, the Conservative Party must often feel, one suspects, a half-reluctant pleasure at the spectacle of opponents who have committed themselves to apocalyptic prophecies floundering in this formidable morass. They may even sometimes be tempted to calculate that there is everything to be gained, in the Party sense, by holding aloof, at any rate for a considerable while longer. The Labour Party might have been conscious of much that sort of temptation in 1940. They resisted it and made a sacrifice of the characteristic Opposition in the cause of national unity, and it is the turn of the Conservative Party to do what was done by the Labour Party in 1940.

However we may gloze over it, the fundamental fact remains that without some greater measure of national unity, we cannot expect a national effort. The class and Party bias of much that has been said by certain Ministers is one of the many causes, but still a prime cause, of our failure to bring out our full national

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I only want to say one thing about the Rushcliffe Report. Time will not permit a long delay before effect is given to its provisions, or something like them. When the war came to an end all the workers who were looking after legal aid, and advice in the Army, were going to be scattered, but emergency arrangements were made to tide over the period until the Rushcliffe plan could come into operation. Those emergency measures cannot subsist for long. They were devised merely to fill a gap, and not to have even a shadow of permanence. I do not want

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to go on talking about the plan; I certainly do not want to talk about the merits of it. As I understand the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, is going to reply in this debate, I only want to ask him to give a word of encouragement and hope to those who wish the plan to be put into operation. I believe that means all who have studied it.

5.24 p.m.

THE EARL OF HALIFAX: My Lords, it is only with some hesitation that I venture to rise to make a few observations. I think all the speeches to which your Lordships have listened, from the two notable speeches of the mover and seconder to all those who have followed them, show to what extent the deliberations of your Lordships' House both now and in the forthcoming Session are bound to be overshadowed by the conditions in which this new Session opens. On the general economic situation there will no doubt be an early opportunity of fuller debate, but meanwhile I think it is impossible to refrain from some general reference to it. The situation is, of course, plainly very grave, involving as it must appear to the layman our capacity to achieve our own recovery, to assist others to achieve their recovery, and, in short, to maintain our position as a World Power.

I think the redeeming feature of grave situations, as a rule, is that they are usually very clear. As we saw in the war, there is substantial unanimity as to what ought to be done, and everybody sets about and does it. That is all very good. In the situation in which we find ourselves to-day, although thinking people of all Parties no doubt desire to contribute to the national effort, the ordinary man outside—and here I have considerable sympathy with what was said by the most reverend Primate the Archbishop of York—does not see the outward signs of the same concentration of purpose as he saw, and indeed was very proud to share in, during the war. Of course, he apportions the blame for that according to his political sympathies. The supporters of the Government blame the Opposition for, as they put it, generating an atmosphere of Party strife when, in their view, all citizens ought to be giving all support to the Government, whatever their Party colour, in

the intolerable burden that they have to bear.

To Conservatives, and I think many others, it often seems that His Majesty's Government are at least as much concerned with demonstrating their loyalty to the letter of full Socialist doctrine, irrespective of any immediate good results, as they are with pulling the country out of the mess. The announcement which your Lordships have heard in His Majesty's most gracious Speech concerning the Parliament Act seems to me hardly to be explained on any other ground. It almost looks as if my noble friend, the Leader of the Opposition, may have proffered in his speech the right explanation. My own thought had been that it partook somewhat perhaps of the nature of the laying of a smokescreen of evil odour that was designed to conceal at a later date something else from the inquisitive eyes of the British public. It will surely be incredible to the ordinary onlooker, as my noble friend said, that they should choose this moment of all others, when appeals are being made for unity by members of His Majesty's Government, in which to throw that monkey wrench into the works. In those circumstances, it will not be surprising to find, not only on the Conservative side, a growing feeling that a Government who are prepared to spend time and to dissipate energy upon activities that can have no relevance to the immediate problem are not in fact the best custodians of our fortunes at this time. I am bound to add this, that even before this last injection of what seems to me pure partisan temper, the impartial observer might be excused for thinking that the Government were really not making co-operation very easy when it allowed the publication of the sort of pamphlets to which the most reverend Primate referred in his speech.

Is it also unfair to say that part of our present troubles is due to the different tones in which spokesmen of His Majesty's Government have in the past spoken? Sometimes they have been grave, but sometimes they have been almost gay, and repudiated the idea that we were locked in a life and death struggle for our national existence. I happened to see a speech a few weeks ago by the honourable Member for Merthyr in which, if correctly reported, he said this:

"These oceans of print about the crisis is the biggest joke in Merthyr for years."

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I do not know what importance he has, but the fact that he should say it at all seemed to be of interest. He may be a person of no great importance—I do not know—but that a Member of Parliament, a spokesman for the Government, should be talking that sort of stuff at this time seems to me almost incredibly shocking.

I apologize for saying so much, but there does seem to be a terrible lot for Sir Stafford Cripps to catch up, and I am afraid that homilies to miners and homilies to industrial workers have to penetrate thick layers of prejudice and bad economics that have been spread by years and years and years of Socialist propaganda and bad economics. While I am sure that is true, there must be those on both sides who are becoming increasingly anxious and concerned. Will Sir Stafford Cripps be able to reach his targets? I presume that is going to be very difficult in a world in which the purchasing power is largely limited and in which the competition of sellers is likely to become more and more intense. Even if he does, I presume that will only affect part of our problem. What happens if he does not? Quite clearly we cannot afford—and we should not wish it—to be permanent pensioners of the United States, however friendly may be our mutual relations and our dispositions. The only alternative that I can see—and I would be very happy to be shown another—if we cannot work our passage on the kind of standard of national life that we want, will be to make it with some lower standard, not what we want but what we can. Should that ever become necessary, it is not difficult to predict what may be the civil and social trouble through which you may reach it.

That being the background, it is not at all surprising to me that such thoughtful citizens for whom the most reverend Primate and the noble Lord, Lord Elton, may speak should be searching round for means of pooling the best brains and the widest experience and best counsel in our present need. On that they think—and may very rightly think—depends the answer to the question whether we are going to sink or swim over the next two or three years. As it becomes more and more to be realized by hard experience what a grim struggle we are in for, I fancy that the country will surely condemn any appearance of an attempt to set Party fortunes before national needs.

I should suppose that no one could find any serious difference with that. What then can be done? I am bound to say that I think it is infinitely more difficult to make any suggestion now than it was twenty-four hours ago. Like the noble Lord opposite, perhaps many would advocate or have advocated the re-creation of a National Government in which all Parties might give their best. I do not believe—and here I agree with the most reverend Primate—that to be possible, and I do not believe that, past history and present circumstances being what they are, it is probably desirable.

But does that exhaust the possibilities of finding some means of co-operation closer than at present? The British are accustomed to pride themselves on having a certain fertile genius for expedients of government. I can conceive that it is not impossible, just as during the war you invented a system of having Ministers of State to handle problems that were larger than or did not fit into departmental responsibility, to apply that with a rather different implication by means of what you might perhaps call a Council of State, in which men of different Parties might sit and pool their wisdom and experience. Those who wish might pray in aid the analogy of the Committee of Imperial Defence, to which men of other Parties may be summoned at the option of the Prime Minister to deal with grave issues. Under any such system, of course, the Government would have to retain their responsibility to Parliament, and the Opposition must equally retain the right to criticize. But some such procedure might seem to hold a possibility of considerable advantage. It would surely not be of negligible value to the Government to be able to draw on the wisdom of other Parties, to explain their difficulties and their methods of dealing with them much more fully than they ever could in Parliament. It would not, perhaps, be without some advantage to the Opposition to be able to mould Government policy before it was finally set, and to have their opportunity of discussion before decisions were finally made.

Last, but by no means least, it would be, of course, an immense advantage—as I think the most reverend Primate said—to the country to receive a large measure of agreed direction, and not feel either that superfluous energy was running

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[The Earl of Halifax.]

into Party politics or that there was division of advice and counsel as to what it ought to do. Although it is quite easy to say all that sort of thing, do not let anybody under-estimate the difficulty that would be inherent in any such proposal. Of course it would be difficult. It would involve great need of restraint on both sides. It would involve the need for His Majesty's Government to restrain the desires, either of themselves or of their Party, to pursue policies, however congenial those might be to the Party, which had no immediate contribution to make to the immediate necessity.

I do not think there was any passage in the speech of my noble friend Lord Salisbury which struck me more than the passage at the end when he said that if the Government were able to leave on one side issues that were not contributing to the immediate necessity, without abandonment of any of their principles, it would, I think his phrase was, "recreate the Dunkirk spirit overnight." That is a contribution that it is in the power, should they choose to do it, of the Government to make. The Opposition, on the other side, supposing any such effort were made, would of course have to work under a kind of gentleman's agreement or gentleman's understanding in regard to confidential information of which, in such meetings as they might have, they would have been the recipients. Those of course are real difficulties, and no one need tell me what fruitful soil would be cultivated there for possible future reproaches. Yet I am led to the conviction, as everyone of your Lordships, I doubt not, is too, that the need on the other side also is very great indeed. I cannot believe that these difficulties or any others are insuperable if at this time of crisis there was a determination on all sides to put first things first and keep them there.

One other consideration, and I have done. I suppose that the broad impression of our present political situation must be as confusing to much political opinion in America as much that is going on in America, I fancy, is confusing to us. I have little doubt, however, that the judgment of the average member of Congress—I am not speaking of the Administration but of the average member of Congress—is going to be greatly affected in the future by the degree of unanimity which is exhibited by the

people of this country. Much as in the war, one of the most powerful things—perhaps some would say the most powerful thing—in restoring the faith in Britain of the average American citizen was the unanimity of our people in those dark days of 1940 and 1941.

Any things of the kind that I have ventured to sketch—which I frankly admit I do not think are possible or probable here and now to-day, though I have tried to sketch them in terms which might be possible—would of course involve sacrifice: sacrifice by His Majesty's Government, and sacrifice, maybe, by some of my political friends here; but I do not think that now any more than in the war, there is any short cut or any easy way of avoidance of sacrifice if we are to be saved. Whether politician, industrial worker or housewife, everybody has to make great and possibly greater sacrifices; and the only thing that can redeem and make it all worth while is that they may perhaps strengthen and serve the nation that is greater than us all.

5.43 p.m.

VISCOUNT SIMON: My Lords, I propose to occupy your time only for the purpose of discussing a single proposition in the King's Speech, the proposition about the Parliament Act. I must be allowed, however, first to say how deeply I share the feelings which have been so finely expressed by the noble Earl, Lord Halifax, who preceded me. He takes the view that the nation is in a life and death struggle for its existence. I am most profoundly convinced that that is no overstatement at all. That we should be sending out of the country a portion of the limited, I might almost say sacred, reserve of gold is in itself a very serious fact. And there is all the difference in the world between setting high targets with great precision and ingenuity, and securing that they will be attained or that the goods which are produced under this urgency will be sold. I am therefore absolutely at one with my noble friend in thinking that to set Party fortunes against national need is an almost unforgivable sin at this time.

It is for that reason that I so much regret this sentence in the King's Speech: "Legislation will be introduced to amend the Parliament Act of 1911." I cannot think that that is consistent with the effort which I am sure the better mind of the

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This was the situation. The Liberals, at the General Election of 1906, had swept the country. They had at last an immense majority for themselves and their programme. They formed a Government which I think is admitted on all hands to have been one of the most well-equipped and powerful Governments of this country. I can say so without any vain glory because I was only a "new boy"—I did not join the Government until I became Solicitor-General in 1910. Consider some of the names: Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Lloyd George, Morley, Crewe, Grey—names that are still held in the highest respect. When you add to that that the Under-Secretaries of that time were Samuel, McKenna and Churchill, I think your Lordships must admit that the Government was one of undoubtedly adequate equipment. That Government proceeded on the basis of its great majority to endeavour to put into force a series of legislative proposals of some variety—education, licensing, Scottish land reform, all sorts of things. It is literally true to say that in the four years from 1906 to 1910 this House destroyed every one of those propositions with the single exception of the Trade

I wish to ask the House, with the greatest respect to the Lord Chancellor who I think is going to follow me, is

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[Viscount Simon.]

there any sort of resemblance between the circumstance which I have now correctly described and the circumstance which is supposed to justify this clause in the King's Speech? Some of us who have come to this House rather late in life, after long experience in another place, are particularly struck by the change which has taken place in this House. I can guarantee that there are members present who silently agree with me. We find when we come here that, as a matter of fact, under modern conditions this House does not set itself up as though it was entitled to overrule the deliberate decisions of the people expressed in another place. It contributes, I think, much of great value. It contributes careful revision, sometimes of clauses that have never been discussed in another place at all; and if we are to believe the very complimentary things which are said about us, His Majesty's Government must fully recognize that that is so.

The noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, at the opening of the debate made one quotation. Of course, quotations are endless. I will spare the Lord Chancellor one or two of his own. Let me give just two. Mr. Herbert Morrison, who I think a fortnight ago was appealing for a greater measure of national unity and of endeavour to be made in order that we should really co-operate in this crisis, and who now takes responsibility for this clause, said:

"Members of the House of Lords co-operate to the full in respecting the wishes of the British democracy as expressed in the so-called Lower House. So we have seen the remarkable and characteristically British spectacle of a Chamber with a large Right Wing majority passing one nationalization Bill after another."

This, of course, is perfectly true.

I would offer only one other quotation from a Labour Minister of the House. Nobody has said this more frequently than Viscount Addison. Would the House accept this one quotation?

"Of course, the House of Lords is not just a replica of the House of Commons. We have our Party loyalties there, as they have in the Commons. But in the Lords 'we wear our rue with a difference,' and, under Lord Cranborne's leadership, the Tory Opposition has shown hitherto a disposition to sink mere prejudice and join with us on the Government Benches in helping the House of Lords to perform its proper function as a Second Chamber, namely, that of revision and acceptable Amendment, rather than in using it as a Tory engine for the

frustration of the Labour Government summoned to office and to power by the nation."

Is not that true? I would very respectfully address to my noble friend on the Woolsack this question: What is it that has happened during the life of this Labour Government which gives you the smallest justification for any reproach against the House of Lords at all? Do not you recognize that in fact—I think the Parliament Act had something to do with it—this House is now rendering a service, genuine, patriotic and, I think, essential which cannot reasonably be impeached and which goes very far from offering the smallest justification for this proposal?

Let me also point this out. There is no doubt about it. Legislation to amend the Parliament Act is legislation concerning the powers of this House. It is nothing to do with its composition. I happen to entertain rather strong personal views as to how the composition of the House should be changed and I have no more abstract attachment for a House largely based on the hereditary principle than many other people; but that has absolutely nothing to do with the proposal mentioned in the King's Speech. I have the Parliament Act here. It is:

"An Act to make provision with respect to the powers of the House of Lords in relation to those of the House of Commons, and to limit the duration of Parliament."

The heading of Section 1 is:

"Powers of House of Lords as to Money Bills."

Section 2 is headed:

"Restriction of the powers of the House of Lords as to Bills other than Money Bills."

The Bill in its enacting sections has nothing to do with composition; and indeed it is a very difficult subject, on which people do not agree, as to how the House of Lords should be composed. This Bill—we know nothing more about it at present and I hope the Lord Chancellor may lift a little of the curtain in his speech which follows mine—has nothing to do with the composition of the House of Lords at all. It has to do with its powers. I take the view myself—and I think it is a view taken by many people interested in constitutional development—that the people of this country respect an institution because of the way in which that institution serves it. They do not qualify their respect because it may contain elements which in a theoretical sense are out of the spirit of the times.

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Your Lordships saw that illustrated this morning when Parliament was opened by His Majesty the King. I suppose there is nobody at this time of day who talks about the "divine right of kings." The reason why the Crown has the respect and the support it has throughout the country is not because of the "divine right of kings" or any abstract respect for hereditary principles, but because for at least one hundred years we have been so splendidly served by the series of Monarchs that have sat upon the Throne. Exactly the same thing is true of this House. If it does not deserve the respect of the people it will be criticized and it may go, but, if it does act in a way which sensible citizens—I think sensible citizens in all Parties—regard as a proper and useful service, I believe it will survive criticisms based on a perfectly different and technical consideration, and, therefore, I venture to ask the Lord Chancellor—I do not want to detain your Lordships any longer than necessary—what is there in the attitude or the record of the House of Lords during the lifetime of this Government, or, indeed, going further back, which can justify the raising of this controversy at this time? Make no mistake; it is going to raise a controversy. Why, when you are faced, as the beginning of your King's Speech truly says, with a most grave economic crisis, you should want gratuitously to add a constitutional crisis as well, Heaven only knows.

My noble friend the Earl of Halifax was right when he said that, so long as this intention stands as part of the accepted programme of the Government—and I think every decent honest citizen will try to give them help and support in these terribly difficult times, and not spend the whole time in criticism—you destroy that desire to help. Side by side with the appeal that is being made, for instance by Mr. Herbert Morrison, for us to endeavour to come together for a single national effort to face the immediate danger, the Government say: "We must be permitted to introduce this particular proposal"—whatever it means. That will inevitably reopen what I myself think is a past controversy, although one which can easily flame up again if a repetition of this issue is set before the people. I would commend to the Government, with great respect, the view taken by the *News Chronicle* over this matter. That

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view was stated in the leader yesterday. The paper seems to have had some wind of this.

The *News Chronicle* has been, on the whole, a very fair-minded paper in respect of Government proposals. I think what is said by them is plain common sense. May I be permitted to read it? It says:

"The people will also wonder why this particular issue should suddenly be thrust into the limelight again."

Will the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, kindly oblige us by telling us what the reason is? The newspaper goes on to say:

"It has been clear for some time now, however, that some of the Labour leaders are anxious for reform"—

that means limiting the powers of the House of Lords—

"less for its own sake than as a pretext to divide the country."

What is the good of appealing to people to come together and to try to act as a united nation if there is an element sufficiently powerful to insert into the King's Speech, something which, as the paper suggests, will have the effect of dividing the country? The *News Chronicle* goes on to say:

"They calculate that this would be resisted by the Lords and the stage thus set for that hackneyed political aria 'People versus Peers'."

It is utterly treacherous, as it seems to me, at this grave time, when we are all asked to try and pull together. There is nothing especially in the conduct and attitude of this House, as the Government and its supporters know just as well as the rest of us, which can justify such a proposal. It is distracting the attention of the country by what I remember was one of the most heated controversies of history. To engage in a dog fight of that sort is distracting the attention of the people, and that is the last thing the Government ought to seek to do, especially in view of the many assurances which have been given in this House to-day by serious-minded men not of the Government's Party, but who none the less wish to set aside reproaches about the past—if there are reproaches—because we are in a frightful difficulty. And if we do not get out of that difficulty it will not make much difference whose fault it was. With great respect therefore, and I hope with moderation, I do urge that this particular matter should be reconsidered.

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I confess that for various reasons I am sorry that the noble Viscount the Leader of the House, Lord Addison, is not able to be with us to-day. I can say now, in his absence, what we on our side of the House, and I think I may say your Lordships on the other side of the House also,

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owe to his sagacity, wisdom, and unfailing courtesy. We all love him dearly, and the fact that he at, I will not say a ripe, but a ripening old age, has thought fit to travel as he has done, in order to do what he can to get help and sympathy for us in these difficult times, is a very remarkable achievement. I am very glad to be able to tell your Lordships that his efforts have been amply repaid and that he has been able—as he will, I hope, have the opportunity of telling your Lordships—to do very useful work for this country.

I, too, have been away. I have been to Canada and I have been to the United States of America. I have travelled from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and I have made far more speeches than I even like to think about now. But I must tell your Lordships that I have come away immensely heartened at the great amount of good will there is towards us amongst the people of the United States. Of course, I knew that there would be amongst the people of Canada. But do not let us take everything for granted. Let us remember the wisdom of keeping our friendships in repair. I would say—and the noble Earl, Lord Halifax, knows much more about this than I do—that I think that the important thing to do at the present time is to stress to the Americans the endeavours which we are making to help ourselves. We have got to convince them that we are going to do all we can to get out of our own troubles. It would not be right and it would not be fair that we should lie back and not pull our weight, and expect them to get us out of our troubles. That is the essential lesson which I have learnt.

I think I can fairly say, too, that I have come away feeling that the Americans are much more appreciative of the efforts that the people of this country are making to help themselves than we are at home. It is a remarkable thing—if we may look at the bright side for a moment—that, notwithstanding the war and our tiredness, the quality of the food we get and the fact that our machines are so much older and in many cases out of date, our total productivity has gone up substantially, as it has, since the year 1938. And the people on the other side of the Atlantic are very much impressed also with the courageous way in which we are taxing ourselves instead of just printing money. I am quite convinced

that we have the good will of the American people. I am equally convinced that we have got to go on in every way we can, straining every nerve over this great task, even though at times it hurts us very badly to do so.

The noble Marquess who leads the Opposition made, as he always does, a delightful speech. He expressed great surprise that noble Lords of the independence of outlook of Lord Dukeston and Lord Quibell should find themselves on the Socialist Benches. He intimated that he thought they were, naturally, his companions. Is it just possible, and does the noble Marquess think, that he may, perhaps, have a wrong conception of the Labour Party and what they stand for? Is it not just possible that we encourage noble Lords to have a certain amount of independence, and does the noble Marquess notice the fact that we selected these two noble Lords to move and second the Address well knowing, as he knows, what is their outlook and what is their temperament? I ask the noble Marquess to put aside from his mind this preconceived idea of what the Labour Party stands for; that it is all drab and dull uniformity. That is not the case at all. Every day we are illustrating the maxim that truth is many-sided.

We have heard very much about the desirability of unity in our troubles, and I very largely agree. I have never been one who has in any sense at all belittled the difficulties of the day. When I, for a time, in the Coalition Government, was acting in charge of reconstruction matters, before the noble Lord, Lord Woolton, was appointed, I was once asked by a very eminent person what I saw of the prospects for the future. I said: "I cannot see how we are going to get through the first five years after the war. If we get through those five years then I am sure it will be all right." Just consider what the position was: We had sold substantially all our assets abroad in order to pay for the war and our export trade on which we depended for our imports had necessarily and inevitably been blocked up. So, at the end of the war we found ourselves with our capital abroad gone, and our export trade gone, unable to produce more than about one-third, I think it is, of our food, and practically none of our raw materials.

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Address in Reply to

[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech

68

[The Lord Chancellor.]

I remember that almost the first day after I became Lord Chancellor the late Lord Keynes came to see me and I remember his putting down on the table a sort of balance sheet of how the position stood. I understand nothing whatever, it is only too obvious I am afraid, about economics, and I was absolutely horrified at the figures he had to show. Those are the facts and I ask the noble Marquess, the Leader of the Opposition, is it true to say that this country has been brought low by political nostrums? I would venture to say that this is such a complete and obvious misstatement of the facts as to be unfortunate coming from one in his position. Of course you might say that things would have been better if we had not adopted this, that or the other policy. That is a very understandable point of view, which will always be a matter of legitimate Party conflict, but to say that we have been brought low by doing these things is to ignore the very obvious facts which I have pointed out to your Lordships.

We now come to the problem as to how we can get things right. Take the question of coal. It will be in the recollection of your Lordships that when the question of the nationalization of coal was debated I was careful to say that the nationalization of coal would not produce the coal. I could not guarantee that we could get the coal, but I stated my firm conviction that unless we did nationalize we could not get the coal. If I may say so without undue heat, to attempt, after this scheme has been in force for less than a year, to say it has failed or to say it has succeeded is to my mind absolute folly. Let us by all means have our differences as to whether it is the right or wrong thing to do. I believe that, with all the difficulties which had to be encountered and they were obviously very great, it was the right and wise thing to do and I believe we should have been in a much worse position if we had not done it.

Then the noble Marquess says we are bent on discouraging our best friends. Why? If I may take my humble self, I have laid myself out for the past six weeks to do everything I could to encourage our best friends. Is it fair, because this must be remembered in the relation to the suggestion of greater

national unity, to say the Government are bent on discouraging our best friends. The noble Marquess referred to the choice which a free man in a free community likes to have of buying what he wants. I am rather tired of this. Of course a free man in a free community desires to be able to buy what he wants, but look at the practical position we are in to-day. We have to export every single thing we have and that means that there will be left at home an all-over insufficiency. Are we then to share that fairly or in a way which will let the people with the largest amount of money buy what they like? If we are going to have a rationing system where goods are shared equitably, it means hoards of civil servants. I believe that bread rationing alone means ten thousand civil servants. Petrol rationing means a great many more. If we do away with rationing we can free a large staff. But is there anybody in your Lordships' House who would say that the distribution of those things in short supply should not be made equitably and fairly but simply and according to the size of one's purse? It is inconceivable. I would beg your Lordships in all parts of the House not to speak as though we liked all the restrictions we have to have. We have to have them. They do not come from the fact that we desire them, but from the fact that these shortages can be dealt with in no other way.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, the noble and learned Viscount has referred several times to me. There is much I would like to say in answer. I really agree that there must be a measure of control and I said so, but when you come to State officials reaching a number of two millions out of a population of fifty millions, the anxiety to get absolutely equal distribution may reduce the amount a country may be able to distribute and intensify the evil it is desired to correct.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, I realize that. If it is simply a question of how many, that can be argued in debate. I understood that the noble Marquess was criticizing the whole method of having control at all.

SEVERAL NOBLE LORDS: No.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I accept it, but I think he so phrased his sentence

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With regard to Imperial Preference, I understand that a statement is going to be made in another place dealing with this matter at length and the noble Marquess will forgive me if I do not deal with it in any detail here. I understand, however, that the very specific statements which were made about our attitude at the present time are not being departed from.

Then there is the question of foreign affairs. I also when I was out in America saw something of the United Nations Assembly and met some of the representatives. It seems to me that what is needed in foreign affairs beyond everything else is patience. It is, of course, very disappointing, but I think that we should be quite wrong to despair at the present time. Let us, at any rate, wait until November and see if then anything better is forthcoming; and let us hope that saner counsels will prevail.

The noble Viscount, Lord Samuel, asked me a question about the phrase: "to reform the franchise and electoral procedure." He will not be surprised, and I hope not unduly disappointed, if I tell him that that does not mean that we propose to introduce proportional representation. It does refer to a Bill to be introduced, which will contain provisions for the electoral reform arising out of the recommendations of the Committee of Electoral Registration, the Speaker's Conference and the Committee on Electoral Law Reform. If, as I fully expect, the noble Viscount is familiar with all the proceedings in those Committees, which I am not, he will know precisely what the Bill is going to do.

I now come to the controversial matter about which a good deal has been said, the Parliament Act. We have had recollections from those who can speak with authority about 1911. I would just say this. Those two Elections of 1910 were my initiation into politics. I confess that I went up and down the country breathing fire and slaughter against the House of Lords, if I could get anybody to listen to me, which was not very often. I was for no half measures then. I confess that in my youthful enthusiasm I was for doing away with the whole thing root and branch. However, there it was, and the Parliament Act was passed. That was the year 1911, and for thirty-six years that controversy has been stilled. Do any of your Lordships imagine that you

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can fairly say that that controversy is stilled to-day? We who know what goes on here realize what an admirable institution we are, and what a splendid membership this House has. Of course we do.

Believe me, it is the fact that there are those who do not think that we are such admirable people, or that this is such an admirable institution as we do ourselves. It is common knowledge that there have been those in the past who would desire to do all sorts of very hard things to us. Would it not be well—I put this to your Lordships quite frankly—if we could end this controversy for another thirty-six years by reducing the time within which you can hold up a Bill from two years to one?

I have been asked the reason why there is anxiety about this at the present time. Let me be quite frank. I have said—and I have not said it with my tongue in my cheek—that this House has performed a most useful function. Look back to some of the Bills which we have done together. Take, for instance, the Companies Bill. We had two hundred Amendments in that Bill, and we got through them all without a Division. On the Bills I have conducted myself—the Coal Bill, the Town and Country Planning Bill, the Electricity Bill, and others—we have always had a very frank discussion. The Government have used this House to introduce a very large number of Amendments themselves on second thoughts. What has happened has been that after a full and frank discussion your Lordships have generally insisted on some three or four Amendments (and, of course, if you do insist on an Amendment one of the weaknesses of the thing is that you are bound to be able to carry it) and they have gone back to the other place; the other place have sometimes met you and sometimes not, and when they have not, your Lordships have given way. That is the way the thing has been working. Working like that it works admirably, and there is absolutely nothing in our proposals to prevent it from going on working like that, where you concede and give way. But the anxiety is this. After this Session of Parliament (we may as well face the fact) when we have run three years, there is no Bill which can be put through by the other place without the consent of this

VISCOUNT SIMON: The noble and learned Viscount will forgive me for interrupting. There is a provision in the Parliament Act to which he has not made reference, and which I think is not generally known. It is not in the least necessary that the three times passage of the Bill should be in the same Parliament. There is an express provision in the Bill that you can have the second or third passing in a second Parliament, after the General Election. There is, therefore, no question of losing a Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I do not suggest that there is any danger of losing a Bill. It is a fact that when three years have run of the present Parliament—let us face this; I am trying to state it in a non-controversial way—the Government being a Labour Government, or if it were a Liberal Government, could not be certain of getting any Bill through in that Parliament unless they got the consent of the Conservative opposition in the House of Lords. On the other hand, when the Conservative Party is in power that same clog does not apply. That is what is said. If I am asked what will happen after the three years are up, I believe that so long as the noble Marquess who is at present leading the Opposition and the noble Viscount who is leading the Liberal Party are there they will exercise their powers sensibly and well, and from a broad point of view. But, after all, I regret to say, those two noble Lords, like the rest of us, are not immortal, and one does not know what might happen if that group of people who used to be referred to, I think, as backwoodsmen come up and take charge of the situation.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I think the noble and learned Viscount has stated his case with great skill, but that is a case in favour of altering the composition of the House and has nothing whatever to do with the powers. What the Government are saying is that this is an inefficient House, that it is ill-balanced, and that it is improper that it should have the powers which it has, but they do not alter the composition.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: At the moment I am dealing with the powers. So far as the composition is concerned, do

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I have concluded all I want to say except just this. The most reverend Primate, the Archbishop of York, the noble Lord, Lord Elton, and the noble Earl, Lord Halifax, have spoken of the need of some common approach. One went so far as to talk about a Coalition. May I give you the benefit of my

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That is one solution I have and I would go further. I would say: Let us try to face up to the difficulties of to-day. Do not let us put it all down to the incompetence of a wicked Government. I think there will be plenty to criticize and I have not the shadow of a doubt that we have made a lot of mistakes. I think that, faced with the crisis we are in, if we had not made mistakes we would not have been doing anything. The man who claims never to have made a mistake in times like these is a fool. We now have a set-up which enables us to have a chance of surmounting very great difficulties. In this House I shall always

Another matter that has not been mentioned is that there is going to be a Budget. When that Budget comes to your Lordships' House we cannot reject it; but I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be ill-advised if he further increases the price of tobacco. One thing we are suffering from in these days is the lack of something that brings a certain amount of enjoyment and incentive to work; and if it is going to be made impossible for the person of moderate means to enjoy a smoke, I think that is going to have a bad psychological effect on the nation. Therefore I hope the Chancellor will not further increase the price of tobacco when he is introducing

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THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Might I just say one thing which I meant to say when replying to the noble Lord, Lord Schuster; otherwise it would appear discourteous on my part. Lord Schuster

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London County Council

[LORDS]

(Improvements) Bill

80

[The Lord Chancellor.]

asked me a specific question which I forgot to answer about the Rushcliffe aid scheme. I confess that I am sorry I did not succeed in getting that Bill specifically mentioned. I made myself a perfect nuisance to all my colleagues about it, but we really cannot allow your Lordships to be worked in this Parliament as we were worked in the last Parliament. I have not given up hope that we shall get it in. I was able to get in my Crown Proceedings Bill and I shall do whatever a Lord Chancellor can do by "under the counter" methods to see if I cannot somehow or other get in your Rushcliffe Aid Bill. I cannot say more. I am very sorry I did not mention it.

LORD RANKEILLOUR: I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Moved, that the debate be now adjourned.—(Lord Rankeillour.)

On Question, Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned accordingly till to-morrow.

CHAIRMAN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR BURMA (THE EARL OF LISTOWEL): My Lords, I beg to move that the Earl of Drogheda be appointed to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

Moved accordingly, and, on Question, Motion agreed to *nemine dissente*.

The Viscount Hutchinson (E. Donoughmore), the Lord Stanmore, the Viscount Mersey, the Lord Teynham and the Lord Holden appointed Deputy Chairmen of Committees.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: My Lords, I beg to move to resolve that whenever during the present Session of Parliament the House stands adjourned, and it appears to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor (or, if the Lord Chancellor is absent, to the satisfaction of the Lord Chairman of Committees after consultation with His Majesty's Government) that the public interest requires that the House should meet at any earlier times during such adjournment, the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Chairman of Committees, as the case may be, may give notice to the Peers that he is so satisfied, and thereupon

the House shall meet at the time stated in such Notice, and shall transact its business as if it had been duly adjourned at that time.

Moved to resolve, That whenever during the present Session of Parliament the House stands adjourned, and it appears to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor (or, if the Lord Chancellor is absent, to the satisfaction of the Lord Chairman of Committees after consultation with His Majesty's Government) that the public interest requires that the House should meet at any earlier time during such adjournment, the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Chairman of Committees, as the case may be, may give notice to the Peers that he is so satisfied, and thereupon the House shall meet at the time stated in such Notice, and shall transact its business as if it had been duly adjourned to that time.—(The Earl of Listowel.)

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it upon the Table: The same was ordered to be printed.

Committee for Privileges—Appointed.

Committee for the Journals — Appointed.

Stoppages in the Streets—Order to prevent, renewed.

Appeal Committee—appointed.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (IMPROVEMENTS) BILL.

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES acquainted the House that the Bill had been deposited in the office of the Clerk of the Parliaments, together with a declaration of the agent, pursuant to the Resolution of the 5th day of August last.

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SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That His Majesty had (by Commission) revoked certain Letters Patent and had appointed the Chairman of Committees for the time being, the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*), the Lord Stanmore, the Earl of Drogheda, and any person who shall have been Chairman of Committees, the Lord Denman, the Earl of Granard, the Earl of Clarendon, the Viscount Hailsham, the Earl of Lucan, the Viscount Mersey, the Viscount Sankey, the Viscount Maugham, the Lord Templemore, the Viscount Simon, the Viscount Addison, the Lord Hare (*E. Listowel*), the Viscount Jowitt, the Earl Fortescue, the Lord Ammon, the Viscount Wimborne, the Lord Teynham and the Lord Holden to be Speakers of the House in the absence of the Lord Chancellor. The said Commission was read.

PONTYPOOL GAS ORDER, 1947.

Special Order proposed to be made on the application of the Pontypool Gas and Water Company:

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) for affirmative Resolution and referred to the Special Orders Committee.

LEITCHWORTH AND DISTRICT
ELECTRICITY ORDER, 1947.

Special Order in respect of the transfer of the undertakings authorized by the Leitchworth and District Electricity Orders, 1924 and 1925:

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) for affirmative Resolution and referred to the Special Orders Committee.

PONTEFRACT ELECTRICITY
ORDER, 1947.

Special Order in respect of the transfer of the undertaking authorized by the Pontefract Corporation Orders, 1907 and 1912:

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) for affirmative Resolution and referred to the Special Orders Committee.

House adjourned at four minutes past seven o'clock.

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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF LORDS

OFFICIAL REPORT
(UNREVISED)

Vol. 152. No. 2
Wednesday, 22nd October, 1947

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of Congratulation.
Debate on the Address: Motion agreed to.



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HOUSE OF LORDS

Wednesday, 22nd October, 1947.

The House met at half past two of the clock, The LORD CHANCELLOR on the Woolsack.

Prayers.

THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS
ELIZABETH:
ADDRESS OF CONGRATULATION.

2.34 p.m.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (VISCOUNT JOWITT) had given Notice that he would move to resolve, That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty to congratulate His Majesty, Her Majesty the Queen and Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth on the approaching Marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten; to express to His Majesty the satisfaction felt by this House at an event which is of such deep interest to His Majesty and to the Nation and promises to secure the happiness of Her Royal Highness; and to assure His Majesty that this House will ever participate with the most affectionate and dutiful attachment in whatever may concern the interests of His Majesty.

The noble and learned Viscount said: My Lords, I beg to move the Resolution standing in my name. I feel it is a very great honour to have the duty of moving it. Their Majesties have so completely identified themselves with the fortunes of their people alike in times of happiness and in times of sorrow, that it is no mere courtier's language to say that we wish to share Their Majesties' happiness which they must feel at the forthcoming marriage of Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth. I feel that there is every reason for happiness on this occasion. The Princess has already endeared herself to the people of this country, and indeed to the people of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and all those who had the privilege of listening to that really remarkable broadcast address which she made during her South African tour will realize what an influence for good the Princess will have, particularly, I think, on the young people of this country.

H.L. No. 2

My Lords, with regard to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten I think perhaps I may say this. I have talked to many of those who had the opportunity of serving with him in the Royal Navy. The Royal Navy is traditionally rather hard to please, and I have found that without exception they have all spoken in the very highest terms of his gallantry and his conduct during his time of service. We all wish that the young couple may be given happiness for many long years. That, I suppose, is the wish of all His Majesty's subjects, and I am quite confident that it is the wish of all the members of your Lordships' House. In view of the very special and intimate nature of this Resolution, I would suggest to your Lordships that, departing from our usual precedent, it would be fitting that the Resolution should be presented to His Majesty by the leaders of the various Parties, including, of course, if he is willing to come, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, as representative of the Lords Spiritual.

Moved, That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty to congratulate His Majesty, Her Majesty the Queen and Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth on the approaching Marriage of Her Royal Highness to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten; to express to His Majesty the satisfaction felt by this House at an event which is of such deep interest to His Majesty and to the Nation and promises to secure the happiness of Her Royal Highness; and to assure His Majesty that this House will ever participate with the most affectionate and dutiful attachment in whatever may concern the interests of His Majesty.—(The Lord Chancellor.)

2.37 p.m.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I beg to associate myself, on behalf of those who sit on these Benches, with the humble Address of congratulation to His Majesty on the forthcoming marriage of Princess Elizabeth. My Lords, only too often in this House we have to deal with matters of controversy which cause divisions of view between us. To-day, happily, we are united in heart and mind. All Parties in this country are at one in loyalty and devotion to the Throne. All regard it as the keystone of our country and of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Our beloved King and Queen and their family live ever in the hearts of their people; we mourn with them in

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[The Marquess of Salisbury.]
their sorrows, we rejoice with them in their happiness. To-day, we celebrate, as the Lord Chancellor has already said, a forthcoming event of equal import to them and to us. The marriage of the Heir Apparent to the Throne is always of vital concern to the peoples of these islands and of the Empire, for on it may depend the whole course of history for many generations to come. By a happy and united family life the monarch may set, as our own King and Queen have set, a shining example to their people. We already know how fortunate we are in our Princess—her grace, her charm, that deep sense of public duty which she has inherited from her parents, have, as the Lord Chancellor has said, endeared her to us all. She has chosen for her husband a Prince who has shown, by his service to this country during the war, just those qualities of courage and resolution which are most necessary in a leader of men. My Lords, we wish them all happiness and every blessing, and we express our loyal congratulations to His Majesty on this so happy an event. May it still further enrich the pages of the long history of our country.

2.39 p.m.

VISCOUNT SAMUEL: My Lords, on behalf of noble Lords on these Benches I desire to add my voice in support of the Resolution now before the House. Among the historical paintings on the walls of the House of Commons portion of these buildings is one which depicts Queen Elizabeth receiving a deputation from that House which had come to ask her to marry. Had she done so, the history of England in the seventeenth century might have been different and less troubled. Now that another Elizabeth is Heir to the Throne we are glad to think that there is no need for Parliamentary intervention in so personal a matter. The Princess is about to marry, and the nation is happy in her choice because she herself is happy. As the Lord Chancellor has said, we all listened to the address which Princess Elizabeth delivered in South Africa on her twenty-first birthday, which, thanks to the most astonishing of all inventions of the modern age, could be heard in every home in this country. Then the Princess, in earnest and moving words, dedicated her life to the service of the Commonwealth and declared the principles which she had resolved should guide her.

Already she had won our affection. That address won our confidence, and this betrothal has confirmed it.

Looking at the present state of the world, countries of Europe and of the world, we realize how fortunate has been the history of our own country and of the British Dominions in that we have been saved from the headship of State becoming a prize to be won by some Party leader through the defeat of his opponents. Our Constitutional Monarchy, consistent in every particular with the full liberties of free democracy, ensures for us, at the summit of our social system, continuity, stability and impartiality. The House of Lords, ever loyal to the Throne, now offers to Their Majesties and to the Princess the expression of their complete and profound satisfaction at this event. Passing from the language of State to the humanities which bind us all together, we may be permitted also to offer to the young bride and bridegroom our affectionate good wishes that they may enjoy throughout their lives all the blessings that a happy home can give.

2.42 p.m.

LORD TEVIOT: My Lords, on behalf of noble Lords in your Lordships' House belonging to the National Liberal Party, I wish most heartily to endorse everything that has been said by my noble friend the Leader of the Opposition, on this great occasion, and I would add just this in all loyalty and respect. Your Lordships may remember that Robert Louis Stevenson said these words: "There is no duty so often neglected as the duty of being happy." This duty is most nobly carried out by our Royal Family. Wherever they go they bring an atmosphere of happiness, whether they are visiting the sick or those in distress or participating, as now, in an occasion for rejoicing. On behalf of noble Lords of this Party, I tender most loyal good wishes to Her Royal Highness and her fiancé. Their lives, by the nature of things, will be strenuous. May the sun shine on them and a blue sky cover them all their days.

2.44 p.m.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY: My Lords, I must
apologize for the fact that, as I was de-
layed for a few minutes, I arrived a little
late, and so did not hear what the
noble and learned Viscount, the Lord

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Chancellor, said by way of invitation to myself to join in presenting this loyal Address to His Majesty. May I say now that I am greatly honoured to accept that invitation. In a few words, I would wish to associate myself with the tributes that have already been paid in respect of this Resolution and to do that in no kind of formal sense. The marriage of one who stands next in succession to the Throne cannot but be of very great moment to all His Majesty's subjects here and overseas. It is a sure instinct of our people that those who hold great positions of responsibility in the State can only render their service faithfully and fully if it is based on the secure foundations of domestic virtue and domestic happiness. It matters much to us that this Royal marriage should offer not only a prospect of public advantage but also essentially a true prospect of domestic felicity. And it is because we can be assured of both those conditions that, as loyalty and respectful affection requires, we can wholeheartedly express our happiness and our congratulations.

This assurance rests upon four things at least. The first is this: that this marriage has the approbation of their Majesties the King and Queen. They know the true meaning of home life at its best, most gracious and most sacred. They care deeply for such things for themselves and for their daughters. Their own experience and their own example—which mean more than can be easily expressed, for this nation as a whole—make them good judges in such a matter, and their approbation can carry ours. But, secondly, this is a marriage which springs not primarily, or at all, from reasons of State. It is no politically arranged marriage such as the past once knew. It springs from a true accord of hearts between two young persons who have grown up together, knowing each other well, and have made their own decisions. And that is the best of all grounds for our assurance. In the third place, the bridegroom comes naturally and giftedly to this high position, combining princely lineage, British education and citizenship, fine character and an honourable record of service in that calling which particularly holds the affections of the British people.

Finally, our assurance rests in the Princess herself. She has grown into the loyal regard and affection of us all. We have seen it happening before our eyes.

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I remember very vividly the profound impression which the Princess made on the supposedly hard-headed and even hard-hearted men in the City when she, with singular simplicity, modesty and grace, received the freedom of the City and addressed the City Fathers. The comments from those supposedly hard-headed and hard-hearted citizens afterwards were most profoundly moving. And if the Princess has won the trust of the older generation she has made herself in a particular sense the leader of her own young generation, with which she shared the experiences of the war and shared employment in war service. She has won that leadership by her own qualities, her own quick sympathies, her own alert interests, and, not least, by the fact that she has a mind and a will and a clear character of her own. As the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, has said, we have all been, more than once, profoundly moved by the way in which she has dedicated herself and called upon her own generation to dedicate themselves with her to the lifelong service of our country and our Commonwealth. So, as we trust, domestic happiness and the public weal will be conjoined in this union. In these sombre days here is cause to thank God for happiness unalloyed, in an event dear to the heart of every human being and completely rooted in this nation's loyalty and life.

On Question, Motion agreed to *nemine dissentiente*.

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to His Majesty by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Privy Seal (Viscount Addison), the Marquess of Salisbury and the Viscount Samuel.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

2.50 p.m.

Debate resumed (according to Order) on the Motion moved yesterday by Lord Dukeston—namely, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty as followeth—

“Most Gracious Sovereign—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in

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Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the most gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

LORD RANKEILLOUR: My Lords, I desire to take up very little time on the question of Burma. I will not discuss the policy of the Government on this occasion; I will only remark that recent events in Mandalay do not appear to constitute a happy augury for peace and harmony under the new order. I would, however, ask certain questions, as the statements which have been made by the Government and the allusion in His Majesty's gracious Speech do not give as much information as to the detailed working they expect the new order to take. May I remark on what is perhaps more a technical matter, that in a similar case, that of the Irish Treaty—of course that differs from the Burman Bill in that it is, I understand, intended to be a confirmation of a treaty—although the Treaty could not be altered at the time, the enactments covering the treaty were passed both in this House and in another place, and also, if I am not mistaken, an amending Bill was almost simultaneously passed to cover up anything that was wrong or defective in the Treaty as originally agreed to.

There are three subjects on which I desire some further enlightenment. First, there are the officials who have served in Burma but who do not come under the description of Secretary of State's servants. Nevertheless they have served in the essential services in Burma and, according to the information I have, they are to be dismissed without any compensation or pension and without any promise of further service. Many of them have served for a long time in the Burmese service and are men of middle age who will find it difficult to find other suitable employment. I trust my information may be wrong, or that, if it is right, the position may still be corrected.

I should like to know something about the question of the defence of Burma. I am no strategist, but I have obtained such information as I could from soldiers, some of whom took part in the fighting, and I have come to the conclusion that the vulnerability of the Burmese frontier is far greater than that of the Indian frontiers, at any rate in the north-west. If I am not mistaken, not only did the Japanese Army

come in from the south-east but a considerable force was able to get far into Burma from the north-east. I can ask whether the Government have taken these matters into account and whether they think that the new State of Burma can find its own protection on the north and east.

But what I am most concerned with is the question of minorities in Burma. The position is very similar in essence to the Indian position, save for one great difference, that in Burma there is no great homogeneous minority that can take care of itself and set up for itself, as there was in India. Nevertheless, there are large minorities. According to the best information which I could get, but which is probably out of date as it is based on a census taken several years back, there are some 1,200,000 Karens, nearly 900,000 Indians, 120,000 Indo-Burmans and 130,000 Chinese. There is a distinction among the Karens. In the north they have a comparatively small homogeneous territory for which I understand they will be allowed separate rights, but by far the greater number, which on the basis of my information I put at 1,100,000, lie mixed up with the Burmans in the plains, and it is for them as well as for other minorities that I would most sincerely plead.

What safeguards will there be for them and for their rights? I am afraid I have said this several times before, but even if I drive your Lordships to an extremity of boredom, I must say it again. The only safe protection for minorities lies in a fixed Constitution with organic laws. Outside this House, if you attempt to talk about fixed or fluid Constitutions, even with a person of the highest education, who has not given any special attention to this matter, you are stared at with a look I can only describe as one of goggle-eyed stupidity. People do not seem to understand the difference, and I think the difference is essential. If, for example, in this Burmese Constitution there is a section saying that there should be no discrimination on the ground of race or religion, that is no use unless it is embodied in an organic law. If the legislative body can change the Constitution as and when they choose, on the long view at any rate and maybe on not so long a view, the safeguard is worthless. Besides which, it must be interpreted by an independent supreme court. The model,

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[Lord Strabolgi.]

your Lordships. They inherited the Potsdam policy; they have had troubles with their Allied and Associated Powers, and altogether a most delicate situation to handle. Nevertheless, after twenty-seven months since the close of the war, it is now announced that it is proposed to dismantle—I take the figures from the account given of it in *The Times*, from their correspondent in Germany—682 factories in the British and American zones. I understand that the original figure was over 900, and that His Majesty's Government have persuaded their associates (they are not alone in this matter, and I am not distributing blame at all) to reduce the number to 682. If it is a matter of dismantling factories that can only be used for warlike purposes, there can be no dispute whatever about that; they all ought to be scrapped. Plants making armoured plate, for example, or boring heavy guns, obviously cannot be used for anything else, and they ought to go. I understand that a good many of them have gone.

But the group of factories it is proposed to dismantle, and in some cases to transfer to other countries as reparations—not all to this country; only a fraction comes here—include 302 war factories; and I understand that some of these could be transferred to civilian production, as is the case, I am glad to say, with many of our own ordnance factories which have been put to most valuable use turning out civilian goods. The next group consists of ninety-two factories making the various products—semi-manufactured goods—of non-ferrous metals. A number of your Lordships play a very great and useful part in the industrial life of this country, and if any of those noble Lords are present they will bear me out, as every other man who has anything to do with production will also bear me out, in saying that there is a tremendous shortage, not only in this country but all over the world, of non-ferrous metals and especially semi-manufactured products. The time of delivery of certain semi-manufactured non-ferrous metals in this country is something like eighteen months, and this is holding up the export trade. The shortage is world-wide, and to dismantle or transfer ninety-two non-ferrous metal factories in Germany in the present state of affairs is, I think, a mistake. I hope that matter will be looked into again.

Then I come to the third group, which consists of 224 factories engaged in mechanical engineering. These are civil factories engaged in production. The great need of the whole of Europe to-day, including this country, is production. Unless we can improve and increase our production Europe will come to ruin. We all know that; there is no dispute about it. It is suggested that these factories be dismantled with skilled labour. The official figures of skilled labour required for the British Zone only is 30,000, and I am told that it will probably be more. You cannot put ordinary labour on to dismantling a delicate machine; you must have the skilled mechanic. Then the parts have to be packed into rolling stock—goods waggons—which do not exist. There is a terrible shortage of rolling stock all over Europe, which is one of the principal difficulties in the way of recovery. I have heard whispers that there is a shortage in this country, too, and I hope that we shall not have to send any to Germany to transfer the parts of this machinery. Then they will have to be re-erected in the countries which are to receive them. I understand that 25 per cent. of the machines will go to Russia, though I am also told the Russians have done very well out of the machinery and plant in their own zone. Nevertheless, under the Potsdam Agreement, twenty-seven months old and, I claim, somewhat out of date now, 25 per cent. will go to Russia, and other very large fractions to neighbouring countries who suffered under the German occupation. The time estimated is two years, though it may be more. That means, supposing you take a middle figure, and dismantle a factory turning out boots and shoes—it does not matter what it is—and send it to Belgium, the process takes eighteen months. You then have to train a new team of workmen, and all that production is lost during the next eighteen months, which are critical for the survival of Europe. Nobody will dispute that.

I have gone into this matter myself because, like others of your Lordships, I have been hard put to it in my own business for semi-raw materials, and we have been looking into the German position to see if we could get some there. We should get a very great deal. I have made inquiries this morning and I do not believe that any of the firms on the list

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are those with whom we had expected to do business so I have no direct interest in the matter. I want to make that quite clear. I would like to say that in our investigations we had the greatest help and assistance from the Control Authorities and the British officials in Germany, and from the British officials on this side. We have pointed out that if we get certain raw materials from Germany in the form of semi-finished goods, we can increase our production in this country and help exports. We received the fullest assistance there, and I have no grievance whatever.

I am looking at the matter from the broad point of view, and I am speaking with some knowledge for the reasons I have just given. I understand that the aggregate value of the plant to be dismantled is of the order of £200,000,000 or £250,000,000 which is a very great deal. There is a shortage of skilled labour to do the work, shortage of transport and, as I said, a shortage of production in Europe. Now it may be said: "Oh, yes, but this was the Potsdam Agreement, and we have to keep our word." We have kept our word right through, and I wish other nations had always done the same. We have been most punctilious ever since the end of the war in keeping all our commitments. I suggest to my noble friend that conditions have changed since the Potsdam Agreement, and that the state of Europe, and particularly of Germany, is such that we cannot afford to carry out this policy.

If reparations are required they can be obtained in consumer goods, and if possible we should avoid the dislocation and upheaval in Germany, not to mention the psychological effects. I do not want to dwell upon that danger, but I think it should be avoided if possible. I do make a plea to my noble friend and the Government to see if this programme cannot be reconsidered. No policy is irrevocable. The idea that, because you said you would do something two-and-a-half years ago, you must still do it to-day under entirely different conditions in the present state of the world, is, I suggest, untenable. I am sorry if I have spoken rather strongly on this matter, but I feel strongly that this is a mistaken policy which may lead to great friction and great difficulty. I am going to say this to my noble friend. I do not believe that in

the end it will be carried out. I think this winter is going to be such a testing time in Europe that this and many other products of the war neurosis of two-and-a-half years ago will disappear. Is it not better to say: "This would be a mistaken policy, so at any rate let us postpone it and give these people a chance to produce the goods for which all the world is crying out and which may help them to buy some of the food with which at present we have to provide them"? I apologize for raising this matter, but for the reasons I have given I hope it will be given the most sympathetic and urgent consideration.

3.14 p.m.

THE MARQUESS OF READING: My Lords, looking back upon yesterday's debate I have come to think that perhaps those who spoke from the Opposition Benches were a little hard upon His Majesty's Government, who deserve commiseration rather than condemnation, after all, here they were with one crisis, a coal crisis, behind them, with another crisis, an economic crisis, all about them; and then suddenly out of the blue overnight, or anyhow over the weekend, bursts upon them a new vast momentous crisis of this menacing struggle of the Peers against the people. No doubt if their thoughts had not been diverted by this titanic spectacle they might have found time in the gracious Speech to give some consideration to matters such as that raised yesterday by the noble Lord, Lord Schuster, of the implementation of the Rushcliffe Committee's Report. But after all, what is the effect to the considerable number of people debarred either from obtaining their rights or defending their rights owing to straightened means when you are faced with a crisis of this magnitude!

They might possibly have wished to consider the recommendation of another Committee which has been discussed in this House, to make some provision in law for the establishment of a marriage guidance service, considering that there are 50,000 divorces in a year. Of course, when the whole foreground of the scene is occupied by this vast looming shape of constitutional struggle, they had no time for such trivialities! There are a great number of lives wantonly sacrificed every year upon the road. The Government have recently had a Report from an

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[The Marquess of Reading.] expert Committee, confirming, incidentally, many of the recommendations of the Alness Report of nine years ago. No doubt they would have wished to give substance to those recommendations had not their thoughts been diverted to other and more momentous topics. In those happy and remote days when they were in Opposition, they talked loudly about the need to separate the functions of the Minister of Health into a Ministry of Housing and a Ministry of Health. No doubt had they had the time they would have desired to carry into practice that cherished wish. But of course Constitution must come first, and they cannot let their thoughts be diverted to such insignificant topics.

I wonder if there has ever been a debate upon an Address in which, with all the eloquence that they expended upon it, the mover and seconder of the Address felt that their lips were sealed against any reference to the first piece of legislation contained in the gracious Speech. If I may say so, I think they were wise in their generation, for truly there never was a more artificial and disingenuous issue put forward to the electorate of this country. If the Government really believe that the people of this country are as guileless and gullible as to swallow this particular measure as a matter of urgent political conflict they are paying no high compliment to the intelligent quotient of the people of England.

It is perhaps worth while spending a few moments considering the reasons which led to the introduction into the gracious Speech of this particular measure. Although, inevitably, it must be largely speculation there is none the less a certain amount of circumstantial evidence, and I am in the happy position of being able to agree in large measure with the causes attributed not only by the noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, but also by my noble friend Viscount Samuel. Let us remember that not very long ago there was a rearrangement of the Government. It cannot be said that it got off exactly to a flying start. In fact, there seemed to be a certain number of false starts, which may have been due to the fact that some of the runners refused to come under the starter's orders at all. But they did get off in the end; and what was the result? A certain number of Ministers

found themselves somewhat peremptorily cast into the category of displaced persons, and their places were taken by a few more horny-handed dons.

And as a last supreme effort the Minister of Fuel and Power was dislodged from his office and consigned to the War Office, which no doubt he will administer on the best "Shinwellington" lines. There remained the Minister of Health; and it must be a solace to him to think that he has at least built something so seemingly permanent as his own position in the present Government. The Minister of Health very properly prepared the way. He even thought it necessary to declare at public meetings that he desired to remain where he was—which I take it, translated into plain Welsh means "I dare you to move me." And they did not dare to move him; and there he remains, with all the added impregnability of having survived that crisis.

But equally the Minister of Health has made no secret of the fact that what he wanted was the nationalization of iron and steel, and that he wanted it now; and he has not got it. Somehow the Prime Minister steeled his heart and the iron entered Mr. Bevan's soul. But there was always the danger that he might become obstreperous, and therefore it was necessary to offer, I will not say in this context a sop to Cerberus; let us rather say, a bonus to Balbus, because those of your Lordships who are classical scholars will remember that Balbus was also in his day a great builder—anyhow of a wall; I do not think it is recorded that he ever had to his credit one complete dwelling house.

Mr. Bevan is not amongst the more pachydermatous of his colleagues in the matter of sustaining criticism, but if he makes the kind of speeches which he has made recently he cannot expect wholly to escape. I quote your Lordships this speech, not for its intrinsic oratorical beauty so much as because it is part of that circumstantial evidence upon which I rely and also because it is an instance of the gaseous rhodomontade that we shall be treated to if this issue is going to be fought out in the country. Speaking at Morpeth on July 19 Mr. Bevan said:

"In the last few months there has been increasing evidence that we might have trouble with the House of Lords. I want to make this clear, and I think it is the view of the Government, that if the House of Lords dares to stand between the will of the people and what they desire then it will be the end

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of the House of Lords. We are not proceeding merely to nationalize the steel industry because of some theory, but because we believe that it lies at the basis of many other industries, that it is a great monopoly, and that we cannot trust the manufacture of steel to the steel lords who, in the past, have made large profits by not making steel. Therefore, if the House of Lords, as the last refuge of ignorant reaction, stands in the way, then we shall take whatever steps are necessary to set aside its power."

Mr. Bevan continued:

"It may not be necessary to entirely shut it up. Our Constitution has undergone many changes. We might leave them with a toy, but take away the sword."

Mr. Bevan has not, apparently, from what we were told last night, got all that he and his friends want. Let us therefore for a moment consider what are the implications of the statement made by the noble and learned Viscount on the Wool-sack. Before I pass to a brief consideration of his speech, I would ask one question of the noble Earl who I understand is going to reply for the Government. As the noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, quoted yesterday, in their manifesto *Let us face the future* the Labour Party said:

"We give clear notice that we will not tolerate obstruction of the people's will by the House of Lords."

What I would like the noble Earl to tell us when the time comes is this. Does he claim, do the Government claim, that in the existing circumstances—the action of this House on any future Bill being entirely hypothetical and possibly never coming to fruition—that at this point of time, the Government has a mandate from the people to alter the terms of the Constitution?

May we very briefly consider what was said yesterday, when one corner of the iron and steel curtain was lifted and we were allowed to see what was behind? The spectacle of a brave man struggling with perversity is always a painful one. But with all respect to him, I think all your Lordships who were present last night must have gone away feeling that never before had you heard the noble and learned Viscount the Lord Chancellor so unconvincing, because so unconvinced. I have heard other great advocates in the past plead a bad cause and I still recognize some of the symptoms. What did the noble and learned Viscount say?

"Do any of your Lordships imagine that you can fairly say that that controversy—"

that is the old Lords *versus* people controversy—

"is stilled to-day? . . . Believe me, it is the fact that there are those who do not think that we are such admirable people."

What is the meaning of that? It means surely this: "We, members of the Government in this House"—I think it right to say this, from what the Prime Minister said last night in the other place—"know that this House has a valuable task to perform, and that it is performed with efficiency and to the general satisfaction." But it means something more. It means that the Government's followers had not fully absorbed that doctrine, and that not for the first time in the history of this Government Ministers are stampeded by their followers. It means this too, that those Ministers, for all the statements that they have made in praise of the work of your Lordships' House, have neither the strength nor the courage to stand up to their followers and to say "This is a baseless controversy. This Chamber is doing its work admirably well."

A little later the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, went on:

"Would it not be well—I put this to your Lordships quite frankly—if we could end this controversy for another thirty-six years by reducing the time within which you can hold up a Bill from two years to one?"

We have already heard in a speech earlier this afternoon something about guarantees, in different contexts. What makes the noble and learned Viscount think that if the Government were successful in reducing this period from two years to one that would bury the controversy for another thirty-six years? We shall not always have Ministers perhaps so moderate, so docile, and so public-spirited as the present. What is to guarantee that in six months time the Government will not say: "No, a year is too much. Let us have it down to six months." Then, in another six months time, "Let us take away this period of delay altogether and reduce it to nothing." What conceivable evidence is there that any such measure as is contemplated in the gracious Speech would be efficacious to still this controversy for another thirty-six years, or even for another thirty-six days?

The noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, later said:

"After this Session of Parliament . . . when we have run three years, there is no Bill which can be put through by the other place without the consent of this House."

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[The Marquess of Reading.]

That statement drew intervention by the noble and learned Viscount, Lord Simon, who pointed out that that was not an accurate statement because the period of time can be carried over from one Parliament to another. I should not for a moment suggest that the noble and learned Viscount on the Woolsack was unaware of that section of the Act, but I would suggest this: if Ministers are really so concerned about the possibility of carrying over from one Parliament to another, it might possibly indicate to some of your Lordships that they are not quite so convinced that in the next Parliament they are going to have a majority, and that from their point of view, it is very important that any measures which they desire to pass, whether the electorate have been consulted upon them or not, might well be thrust through in the life of the present Parliament.

The Lord Chancellor went on to say—and this is an interesting phrase—in answer to Lord Simon's interruption:

"I do not suggest that there is any danger of losing a Bill."

Let us bear that very valuable phrase in mind. A little later he said:

"One does not know what might happen if that group of people who used to be referred to, I think, as backwoodsmen come up and take charge of the situation."

It was pointed out to him at the time that that was a complete and utter shifting of ground, that he was moving from the question of powers to the question of composition.

The Lord Chancellor went on with an almost more remarkable sentence. There stood up in your Lordships' House a Socialist Lord Chancellor defending and patting upon the back the hereditary system. I, too, remember the days of the 1911 Act to which the Lord Chancellor referred, and the campaign that preceded it, and I am bound to say that, whatever strange metamorphoses time might bring, I never expected to attend anything more edifying as a spectacle than that. The Lord Chancellor said:

"I think they"—

that is the Second Chamber—

" must be able to hold up a Bill for a limited period of time with all the disadvantages."

That is the present position. That would presumably be the position with a difference in the limitation of time if this new Bill were to become law.

But yesterday, also, the Prime Minister in another place made a speech and he said this:

“ If, as I hope, the Members of another place are not inclined ever again to exercise those menacing powers in order to render nugatory the decision of the elected Chamber, then our proposals will do them no harm, but we shall be taking away a weapon which they have no intention of using. If, on the other hand, they still have the intention to reassert those powers, which of late have fallen into desuetude, then this Bill will be most effective and timely.”

What is that saying? It is surely saying this: that there is a failure to recognize that the great effect of the 1911 Act was to remove the veto altogether, and that all that is left is the statutory power of this House to reject a Bill three times and then, if it comes within the prescribed limits, seeing it passed over its head.

Those were the terms in outline in which this new proposed Bill was commended to us yesterday. At the same time we read and hear a good deal about national unity in the face of a crisis. Ministers quite rightly expect the united efforts of the country in many of the great enterprises which they have been bound to undertake. They expect every assistance that they can be given in the export drive and in many other aspects of national life. But when they seek to promote that unity by the intrusion of a fictitious, counterfeit and bogus issue of this kind, it is futile to turn to the country and plead that they should have the united backing of all Parties in their undoubtedly arduous task. May I commend to the members of the Government a very salutary exhortation used only a few days ago, although in a different context, by the Lord President of the Council: "In the national interest, stop this nonsense."

3.38 p.m.

VISCOUNT SWINTON: My Lords, before I come to more criticism which I am afraid I shall have to offer of the most gracious Speech, I should like in much more than a formal manner to associate myself with all that has been said in the speeches of the mover and the seconder of the Address. We know both the speakers well; one we have known for quite a long time, the other we are getting to know almost equally well. I cannot pay a higher tribute to them than to say that in what I think is perhaps a most difficult job both have maintained their reputation for debate in this House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has maintained a masterly silence hitherto to the charge that a great part of that amount, if not all of it, went in paying off old debts which were not payable under the convertibility arrangement. Before convertibility started it was his business and the business of the Bank of England to see that this amount was not frittered away in the payment of old debts, which had nothing to do with

Let me make a suggestion as to where that money should have gone. It certainly should not have gone to pay old debts to people whom we saved in the war—if it has so gone. It should not have gone in the long-range capital expenditure—if part of it did—which could bring no benefit for years. Where it should have gone was in filling the pipelines of raw material or semi-manufactured supplies. I make no apology for raising this issue and making that charge now, because it may be in the recollection of your Lordships that a year ago or more, in one of our economic debates in this House, I said that I was much more anxious about the shortage of raw materials which would come upon us than I was about a shortage of manpower. I am quite certain that a shortage of manpower can largely be met if we all work a little harder. But whereas we can all do a little more, we cannot make more raw material out of a certain amount of raw material. Apparently, we did not do too badly in this House, as the Lord Chancellor has said. Any man can work harder to get more production, but a ton of steel, a ton of coal or a ton of any other raw material remains a ton of raw material and you cannot increase it by any modern miracle.

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Was I not right when I said that the danger was a shortage of raw material? Have we not seen—and every manufacturer and trader knows of this—stocks running down? And what does that mean? It means that any bottleneck, any unofficial strike which comes about—and they will come about, I know, whatever system you have, in spite of the admirable efforts which the trade union leaders are making to-day to keep on an even industrial keel—will result in a hold-up. When ordinary stocks are held, when the pipelines are filled, when the flow is going on normally, it does not matter very much because you can take it in your stride; but the position being what it is, any occurrence of the sort I have mentioned creates a hold-up all along the line. It means that we cannot employ in full clear run the labour that is available. It means frustration both of management and of workers. And it means another thing. It means that this increasing shortage of materials lands us always in more and more controls, with the result that production becomes increasingly difficult and the pipelines are adversely affected twice over, once by the lack of material and a second time by the presence of excessive control.

I want to ask what steps the Government are now taking to fill these pipelines. If I may respectfully say so to the Lord Chancellor—I hope I am not misinterpreting what he said for I listened with great attention to his speech—he seemed to me to speak (and this is where he seemed to me so pessimistic) as if the only solution was to increase the rationing of less and less commodities. That really is not the road to recovery. The road to recovery and the way to production and less control is by more supplies. That leads me to this. In another passage of the gracious Speech there occur these words:

“My Government will take measures to bring into essential work those who are making no contribution to the national wellbeing.”

I do not dissent from that. But is this to be applied all round? No one has a good word to say for spivs. They have neither useful activities nor good intentions. But what about the unnecessary hordes of temporary civil servants? Do not let anyone imagine for a moment that I am likening them to spivs. I am not doing so in the least. It is not their fault; it is the Government's fault that

they are where they are. *Et ego in Arcadia vixi.*

I began in public life some thirty years or more ago, when invalided out of the Army, by becoming temporary head of a Government Department. I have served with civil servants and as a Minister for thirty years, and I have the highest regard for them. Our Civil Service is second to none in the world. But the people of whom I am speaking have a peculiar function to perform, and they are not trained for the kind of thing which you are telling them to do to-day. Bear in mind that you do not get the best, you get the remnants and the people who are not trained to take responsibility. I dare say they are doing their best, and, as I have said, I do not blame them; I blame the Government. The Government are the people who are responsible for this excess.

Thousands of these people could be released and with their release you would also release their counterparts in industry and trade who have to answer the forms which they send out. It is a two-way traffic, this business of sending out and answering forms. It would be wasteful enough if these gentlemen sat on their seats in their Government offices and merely sent out paper, but, under frightful penalties, all that paper has to be filled in by people who ought to be scouring the markets of the world to-day in order to get export business. For every one of these people in the Civil Service, of whom I have spoken, you cause the retention of another person in some office in business. In the old Parliamentary jargon, “It counts two on a Division.” The release of the man in the Government office will mean that two people will then be able to make, in the words of the gracious Speech a “contribution to the national wellbeing.” And you can do that by simplifying controls.

The Lord Chancellor, if I may respectfully say so to him, put a very unfair construction on what my noble Leader said yesterday. The Lord Chancellor said in effect: “You want to get rid of all controls.” That is not our idea at all. Of course you have to keep some controls, while materials are in short supply. All we criticize is the way you administer the controls, the way you try to command every platoon and ask for eighty and

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eight forms to go in for a single transaction. What you ought to do is to exercise the functions of a great General Staff. I think you have about three General Staffs in various Departments of the Government. Let them exercise the function of a General Staff and issue general directives. The gracious Speech spoke of the combined work of partners—I will not say both sides of industry—and that is an effective way, a much more economical and a smoother way, of carrying out the control of raw materials.

The Government are to cut down business. Much of the Fleet is reduced to a care and maintenance basis. The only untouchable sanctuary appears to be the swollen staffs of Government Departments. I beg the Government and the new economic commander-in-chief—Sir Stafford Cripps, a most sincere man—to reconsider this. Somebody described Sir Stafford Cripps to me in the train the other day, somebody who had an admiration for him, as the most broad-minded narrow-minded man he had ever met. I think that is true, and I hope that he is getting even more broad-minded.

I want to turn to the question of Empire defence and co-operation. What the noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, said, in moving the Address, about good will and the potentialities of trade which he had found in the Commonwealth raised a welcome in my heart. But if he will forgive my saying so, he had not discovered a new continent, although he may have been visiting it himself for the first time. This goes back a long way. I recollect that almost the first thing that Mr. Bonar Law did when he became Prime Minister in 1922, was to summon, in agreement with the countries of the Commonwealth, the first Imperial Economic Conference. He paid me the great compliment of detailing me to preside over it. Then, some nine years later, came the Ottawa agreements which did so much to rescue from the slump not only the Commonwealth trade but the whole trade of the world. I am not asking at this moment for details but I am asking, and this House and the country want to know, where do the Government stand on all this? What is their policy? Do they believe in Imperial preference or do they not? For my part, I am convinced by the practical experience of

twenty years that Imperial Preference is an essential element in Commonwealth trade co-operation and in the development of the economic resources of the Colonial Empire. From that experience over twenty years I have proved that Imperial Preference not only increases the trade of all parts of the Commonwealth with one another, but by increasing the internal prosperity of the Commonwealth enables the Commonwealth to increase mutual trade with the rest of the world.

I cannot emphasize this too strongly. This is not a choice of Commonwealth trade or world trade. This is not a choice of Commonwealth co-operation or co-operation with Europe. On the contrary, if, and I believe only if, we increase our mutual trade within the Commonwealth, shall we be able to play our full part in economic co-operation with Europe and the rest of the world. I ask the Government definitely, do they or do they not accept that principle? Eighteen months ago, on March 6 last year, the Government accepted and endorsed a Resolution moved by my noble friend Lord Altrincham, in favour of Commonwealth economic co-operation. Do they still stand by that policy? It was made clear at the time the American Loan went through that it involved no commitments and left us free. I do not want to quote the assurances. I put three definite questions to the noble Lord, Lord Pakenham, at the time. To all of them he gave quite definite assurances: that we were absolutely free to make our own bargains, and were in no way bound or committed, that it was a matter of getting agreement with all nations, and that it was we and the Colonial Empire, for which we are trustees, who must make any bargain and who must agree on anything which may reduce the existing preferences.

The noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, said that no commitments which ran counter to those assurances had been made. I am not accusing him of bad faith, but I think it reasonable to say that in these great questions of Imperial co-operation we ought not to be faced in either House of Parliament with a *fait accompli*. Before we are committed, we ought to have these proposals presented to us in Parliament. We are not going to take tiresome partisan

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lines about this. We are all trying after the same thing, but this is where Parliament is needed as a Council of State, and the Empire looking to us want to see Parliament acting as a Council of State. We ought not to be presented with a *fait accompli*. We ought to be the judges, not only of whether pledges are kept in the letter, but whether these are wise bargains, not only for the immediate present, but for the long and lasting future.

Before I pass wholly from the Imperial field, may I say a word about Ceylon? I welcome the passage in the gracious Speech which indicates that Ceylon, loyal, helpful to us throughout the war, seeking to develop its destiny within the Commonwealth, will attain its status as a partner. I hope the Bill will come soon. That is one which the Government may press on; they will have all our help on that. If I may strike a personal note, I would like to convey my good wishes to the respected Prime Minister, Mr. Senanayake, by whose wise counsel I benefited many years ago when I was Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is agreeable to think that he and another old friend, Lord Soulbury, were largely responsible as the joint architects for Ceylon's Dominion status.

I turn to the most controversial, the most unfortunate and the shortest passage in the gracious Speech. I do not think the Government can feel much satisfaction at the receipt of their proposal to amend the Parliament Act. It has been received by the great majority of people—I think I put the thing fairly—with shocked surprise—shocked surprise at this irresponsible tossing of this apple of discord into the political arena. That shock and surprise has not been noticeably relieved by the Lord Chancellor's speech. He lamented, as we all do, the absence of the noble Viscount the Leader of the House. He paid to Lord Addison a tribute in which everyone of us, wherever we sit, would wish to join, on public or on personal grounds. Though the Lord Chancellor made that generous and deserved reference to the noble Viscount, Lord Addison, he did not answer the question which the Leader of the Opposition put. Viscount Addison has been nobly doing his duty in the Dominions. If, in asking the question again, I may apply the language so often used about communication with the Dominions (that

"The Dominions have been kept informed") may I ask the noble Earl who is to reply whether the noble Viscount the Leader of the House was consulted, or whether he was informed, or whether the decision was taken too late to do either?

The noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, is the ablest advocate the Government have. Therefore, we must assume that what he said yesterday was the best defence that could be put up for this strange proposal. I never heard him make a worse speech. Perhaps, as my noble friend has said, he never had a worse case to defend. In so far as he made any case at all, it was a case for the reform of the composition of this House and not for the limitation of its powers. He spoke of the possibility of the backwoodsmen suddenly emerging from the back woods. If that argument has any value at all, other than a bogey value, surely it is an argument for the reform of the composition of the House of Lords and has nothing whatever to do with its powers. The Lord Chancellor rejected that. He said: "Here you are, a perfectly admirable body, doing your work in a most admirable manner." That is what he and his colleagues have been saying for the past two years.

In the early days they may perhaps have been a little surprised (I do not think they need have been) at the wise leadership of the noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury, or surprised at the loyalty with which he was followed. He was followed loyally because those whom he leads shared his opinions, and would not have accepted leadership in any other direction. We were led where we desired to go, as a united team, thinking the same and trying to do our duty. The Government have long since ceased to be surprised. Your Lordships will remember that the noble and learned Viscount, the Lord Chancellor, cited the case of the Coal Act. He said how difficult it would have been if the Coal Act had been held up. But it was not held up. If that argument has any validity, it is not an argument for introducing a Bill now. It might have been an argument for introducing a Bill at the beginning of the first Session of this Parliament.

As for the flimsy claim to a mandate, I do not think that that was made seriously by him. The best case he can

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make is this. He says, in effect, that we have a very reasonable Government (let us accept that, for the sake of argument) and a Second Chamber which behaves in the most model manner. But then he says we must look ahead for thirty-six years. That, indeed, is facing the future! If that is the claim, observe what it means—permanent legislation. This is not a case of temporary emergency powers. Let me put to the noble and learned Viscount the application of his own argument. Be it that this Government are as reasonable as he himself and his colleagues in both Houses have said this House is. If that is true, then why take any action at this time? He says that we must legislate for thirty-six years. In thirty-six years shall we always have such a reasonable Government? Can he so guarantee?

LORD CALVERLEY: Yes, if you return us.

VISCOUNT SWINTON: Suppose we had a Government not so reasonable, which was determined to carry legislation for which it had no mandate whatsoever, to which the majority of the country was bitterly opposed. That, after all, as we all know—and I do not think there is any difference between us on this—is the regular Communist technique. It is the technique of all minority dictatorships which, by hook or by crook, seize power. One of the first things they do is to try to sweep away both Chambers; and they certainly wish to sweep away any revising Chamber. If we had a Government like that, determined to carry legislation to which the country was bitterly opposed, they might be well content, rather than face the country, to wait a single year and get this bitterly opposed legislation through. In such circumstances, the safeguard of democracy is imperilled, and might well be destroyed. It would be wicked to pass legislation of this kind to meet a temporary internal difficulty in a Parliament at such risk to the best interests of the country.

Earlier in his speech the Lord Chancellor appealed to us to refrain from speech or action which, designed for home consumption, might prejudice us abroad. Does he think that this particular proposal is going to help us greatly abroad? This discordant project is equally unsuited for home consumption, and can do nothing but harm all round.

Since it was bruited or announced speakers and writers—not a few of them friendly to the Government—have trusted this with the Prime Minister's appeal for union. The noble Marquess did it in an effective way in his speech. I am sure that many members of the Government disliked this proposal, and I suspect that even more dislike it now that they have seen its reception and its implications. Both Houses of Parliament always respect a man, and not the least a leader, who has the courage to admit when he has made a mistake and to retrace his steps. If the Prime Minister sincerely desires national unity—and I believe he does—this is the test. Let him have the courage to discard this ill-advised project, give to the country a real lead, and in his own words a year ago, to put first things first.

4.22 p.m.

LORD LUCAS OF CHILWORTH: My Lords, I shall not find any great difficulty in receiving the indulgence of the House if I say that I do not think I could do better than follow the very splendid example set by my noble colleagues who proposed and seconded this Motion, in paying due regard to that well known slogan "It is better to be safe than sorry," and to steer clear of the more controversial matters in the gracious Speech. In point of fact, at this hour I do not think I should be over-stating it when I say that I would receive the approbation of a number of noble Lords if I here and now gave a solemn undertaking not to mention the Parliament Act, 1911.

I intend to address a few observations upon what I consider are practical things of far more immediate importance. If I may, I would ask your Lordships to give attention to the third paragraph in the gracious Speech, where it says the first aim of His Majesty's Ministers will be to redress the balance of repayments, and that this will demand increased production and the sale abroad of a greater share of goods produced in this country. I think that supporters and critics alike are quite willing to pay a generous tribute to the Minister of Economic Affairs for the very realistic plan which he has put before this country to increase our production. I wish I could have as much satisfaction over the efforts which are being made to sell that production when it has been produced. Production is one thing,

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but to sell that production in the markets of the world, in the fiercely competitive conditions of the next five years, is going to be another. I would suggest that we want to address as much thought and as much planning to finding markets when we have to face the fierce competition of some of our more fortunately placed competitors.

I must confess that I was very impressed with one passage in the speech of my noble friend Lord Dukeston, upon which—I hope he will not think it impertinent of me—I would like to congratulate him. The noble Lord drew attention to his apprehension over the capital equipment produced in this country being exported abroad. The noble Lord's words were:

"... and we may under the great pressure now placed upon us to accomplish that objective so affect our capital plant and equipment that when we do emerge we may find ourselves in a competitive world where we are very seriously handicapped in the fight to maintain our status as a great industrial nation."

One of the reasons we are in the position we are in to-day is that we neglected to re-equip industry during the inter-war years. One of the reasons why we are faced with high cost of production to-day, to our great disadvantage abroad, is the ill-equipment of our great industries. I would beg of you to appreciate that increased production relies on many things other than the expenditure of human sweat and elbow grease. The more man-power you have to use in industry to-day the higher your costs. Our future as a great industrial nation is not only going to depend upon the quality of our products, but upon our competitive position as regards price. I must confess that I am alarmed at the increasing costs of British production to-day. It is a matter to which industry has to give very serious attention, or else we shall find our warehouses and factories full of goods and the markets of the world closed to us because we are not competitive.

The next point in the gracious Speech to which I would like to refer is the one which my noble friend Lord Dukeston passed over so nicely because, I suppose, he wanted to keep his bargain not to be controversial. After the Heyworth Report I do not think it could be claimed that the nationalization of the gas industry comes within the category of the controversial subjects to-day, but the part of the

gracious Speech which deals with that says that the event is in completion of the plan for the co-ordination of the fuel and power industries.

When the noble Lord, Lord Strabolgi, addressed your Lordships early this afternoon I had no idea that he was going to raise the question of the disbandment of the Petroleum Board. At a time such as this, when the whole of the country's man-power has to be mobilized, when every activity has to be diverted into productive sources, to disband the Petroleum Board and reinstitute the competitive activities of petrol companies, competing and selling individual brands of petrol when they cannot increase the sale of petrol in this country by one gallon; selling a commodity which is strictly rationed and in shorter supply now than it was, I do not understand it—it puzzles me. Are we to be treated to the spectacle of having multi-coloured petrol pumps all over the country? Are we to be treated to the spectacle of various brands competing, with the corresponding waste of man-power and distribution transport, all the way along the line? I feel the noble Earl who is to reply on behalf of His Majesty's Government must have a good reason why this action has been taken, but if there is I confess that it has not emerged in any official statement that I have seen. I understand that this is to operate from January 1 onwards. I beg the noble Earl to say why this is proposed, because at a time such as this, when men are being directed and industry is being directed, to have a reversal of policy in the special case of petroleum companies is something of which some sections of the British people will want an explanation.

That brings me to a very controversial subject, and one upon which I may lay myself open to a charge of special pleading. But I ask your Lordships at least to pay me the compliment of believing that I am actuated only by a desire to increase the industrial efficiency of this country. I cannot escape the feeling that the abolition of the basic petrol ration is a mistake, which may in the last analysis lose us more in industrial efficiency than any corresponding gain there may be in the saving of dollars. I believe it is insufficiently realized what a great and integral part is played in the life of this country by the individual unit of transport. We have in this country a problem

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[Lord Lucas of Chilworth.] which no other country has, a short, relatively intricate network of journeys between factories and works, where the door-to-door conveyance is an absolute necessity. I am alarmed about transport prospects during this coming winter. Any noble Lord who has studied transport problems has a right to be alarmed, especially with a knowledge of what happened last winter, when (from an entirely different cause) the transport of this country was disrupted.

The transport of the country will have an even greater strain put upon it during this coming winter. It has been authoritatively stated that the number of railway locomotives under repair to-day is one-fifth of the total. Track maintenance is badly behind requirements. It was authoritatively stated the other day that the Coal Board have to contemplate the shifting of 2,500,000 tons of coal by road during the next six months because the railways cannot handle that traffic. Take the position of public road transport. In the words of the Chief Mechanical Engineer of the London Passenger Transport Board, as reported in *The Times* of Saturday last, after setting out the miracles that have had to be performed to keep London buses on the roads, he said:

"In spite of these efforts however, 400 of London's 5,000 buses had been off the road recently in a single day, and at one time 140,000 bus-miles a week had been lost. Buses, trams and trolley buses were now running 23,000 more miles of services daily than they did before the war. The number of road passengers had increased by 1,000,000 a day, to 10,160,000 since 1939."

What is true of London is true of every city and town in Britain. What is going to happen when a great increase is thrust upon a transport system already overstrained? In the six winter months, every mile that is travelled by a privately owned motor car can be said to be run on essential or semi-essential work—people do not run cars for pleasure during an English winter. I am apprehensive that we shall lose productive man-hours through the workers in industry standing in queues, seeing buses go by full; and if you total up an hour lost by every workman every day, both going and coming, it adds up to a considerable total.

I would beg that this matter be reconsidered. I would be the last to claim that there are no good grounds for cutting petrol

supplies. I am prepared to accept that. What I do suggest most seriously to the noble Earl is that that cut should be distributed fairly and equally over every form of petrol user. I make no charge, but the industrial and the commercial user of petrol in the past has not been the most careful in his use of petrol. I am certain that if the petrol given to commercial and industrial users in this country were cut by the requisite amount it would not reduce their efficiency by one per cent. because it would give greater scope for better management in the use of fuel. I ask the noble Earl at least to agree in his reply that a *prima facie* case has been made out for reconsideration.

I have not touched upon other aspects, the amenity aspects, the housewife's point of view, and so on. Yet there was a passage in the speech of my noble friend, Lord Dukeston, which I would again commend to the attention, not only to your Lordships but of His Majesty's Government. He said:

"My fear is lest we should get into a descending spiral and should apply economies in a way that would tend to destroy the will to greater effort in the field of production."

There is, I think, a doubtful psychology in cutting something which has been proved to be such an integral part of the industrial life and the social structure of this country.

I was heartened when I heard the noble Viscount, Lord Swinton, say this afternoon that he was not pessimistic about the workman and the common man of this country. I have a feeling that the two sides of industry, employer and worker, are losing confidence in each other. Once we do that, we lose confidence in ourselves. I would beg noble Lords not to join in the parrot cry that "Labour will not work." If labour will not work, it is the responsibility of management, and management has got to find the answer to it. The day we lose confidence in ourselves our democracy is adrift on a perilous sea, and a sea with a considerable number of pirates about. I would beg employers and workmen in industry to try by every method possible to pull together. If we do that we shall eventually find the solution to our present difficulties and troubles.

4.40 p.m.

THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH: My Lords, like the preceding speaker, I am

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During the war, we deliberately sacrificed freedom for the duration in order to preserve it for the long future. How long and until what time are the restrictions and controls and directions upon labour to be imposed? Is it until we have safeguarded this nation from the actual danger of starvation, or is it until we have secured the continuance of the present standard of life, or are they to be imposed in the general interests of improving the standard of life of the country? I would mention, if I may, a very striking passage in the speech of the noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, in moving the humble Address. The noble Lord pointed out—and no one is more competent than he to do so—that any substantial transfer of labour from secondary to primary industries must necessarily involve a transfer from one part of the country to another. That consideration

I do not know, of course, what steps His Majesty's Government intend to take in this matter. I think that I may say this. Before the war, my Party was faced with the immense problem of unemployment, and one of the factors that made the unemployment problem so very hard to solve was the difficulty of persuading—we only adopted methods of persuasion—labour to move over, to persuade labour to move from the stagnant pools of unemployment in the Rhondda Valley and elsewhere to other areas where work could be found for them. I know what very great weight my leaders attach to that factor in the problem. Are His Majesty's Government going to cut the Gordian knot which we tried to untie and, if so, how are they going to persuade the British public to accept the status of displaced persons? In his speech of yesterday afternoon, the noble and learned Viscount who sits upon the Woolsack addressed this plea to the House. He said: "Do not let us put it all down to the incompetence of a wicked Government." I could wish that the Labour Party would have that consideration in mind in their criticisms of the actions of the Conservative Government before the war in the matter of the unemployment situation. If we extend that understanding to them—and I am sure that we are very willing to do it—I hope that they will persuade their propagandists, and in particular, the author of their latest publication *The A.B.C. of the Crisis*, to extend a similar degree of courteous tolerance to us.

The steps which His Majesty's Government propose to take in the matter of the direction of labour have been commended to the public under the guise of measures largely, perhaps primarily, directed to bringing into industry the spiv, the drone, and the butterfly. So far as the spiv is concerned, I wish you good hunting, but

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I believe that this country is truly impressed by the gravity of the crisis, and that it will not shrink from accepting even the most drastic measures that are proved and demonstrated to be really necessary for the solution of immediate problems, provided always that the people are not asked to make any permanent surrender of their rights, and provided that they are told at the earliest possible date exactly what is to be demanded of them. That has not yet been made clear, and I can only beg His Majesty's Government to make it as clear as possible at the earliest moment.

I am not going to deal with the question of the Constitution. I state only my own opinion, that there can be no shred of doubt that for this measure the Government have no mandate at all. They have a mandate, and an implicit mandate, at all times—and all Governments have it—for two things. That is, a mandate to preserve the independence of our country, and a mandate to strengthen the bonds of our Empire and our Commonwealth of Nations. But it is chiefly by their conduct of the external affairs of this country that history will judge this Government. They took office when our reputation was high in the world. How will they leave it? How are they dealing with the problem now? We have had many speeches on the great measures of social security which have been offered to the country during the tenure of office of the present Government. One might almost think, when one hears the Chancellor of the Exchequer speak, that he was the sole author of these schemes. But, whoever conceived them, whoever

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put them into practice, there is no possibility that we can maintain them unless we look first to our national security. It is because I am so deeply disturbed about the status of our country in the world to-day that I venture to draw your Lordships' attention to that passage in the gracious Speech which touches upon this problem.

I listened last night—a thing I do not do very often—to a talk on the wireless called *One world and two blocs*. I must say that as I listened my depression grew, because the speaker seemed to regard it as inevitable that there were two, and only two, *blocs* in the world. It seemed to me a remarkable feat that anybody who regarded himself as a competent observer of Parliamentary affairs should be able to make a speech of some twelve or fifteen minutes without ever mentioning the British Empire. I believe that there is a Spanish saying that if you have two bulls in the ring there will be a fight, but that if you have three there will not. I am as certain as I stand here that if it were really true that there were only two great Powers in the world facing each other, sooner or later, and rather sooner than later, there would be a third world conflict. It is because there is, or there should be, a third great Power in the world that I wish to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to this particular part of the gracious Speech.

The gracious Speech refers to the part that the Government will play in the work of European reconstruction, and the talks in Paris. It says:

"The present obstacles to co-operation and understanding between the peoples of the world, have strengthened the determination of my Government to support the United Nations, and to seek by that means to promote the mutual trust and tolerance on which peaceful progress depends."

I do not in the least accuse His Majesty's Government of not being aware of the importance of the Commonwealth in the world to-day, but I do regret that more prominence has not been given to it in the gracious Speech. It is not a choice of following Russia or following the United States. Such a choice is not a foreign policy. If there had to be a verdict in this country, I have no doubt that we should decide to cast in our lot with the free forces of the world. But friendship, or the cultivation of friendship, with the United States is not a policy. Hatred

of totalitarian Governments, in whatever form they may arise, is not a policy. The policy of His Majesty's Government must be to strengthen in every possible way that great community of free and independent nations over which the Crown rules in the seven seas of the world.

I said at the beginning of my speech that I thought that a great part of what is contained in the gracious Speech is irrelevant. I think it irrelevant because I do not consider that it shows a grasp of the present situation in which this country finds itself. The noble Viscount, Lord Swinton, in his speech said, as I thought very justly, that it was no solution of our problems to keep on devising new ways of dividing a smaller and smaller and smaller portion of the national production among our people. It is not deprivations and a lower standard of living which are causing the present despondency and alarm among the people of this country. The reason for this despondency and alarm is that they lack hope and inspiration. They have shown that they do not fear hardship or deprivation. But if we could feel that we were enduring our present troubles and discontents because we had some practical future to look forward to, then I think that a great many of the controversies and much of the bitterness now being generated would disappear.

We want a goal—not a goal for any single class or Party in our State, but one to which we can all look forward. We want a policy of true expansion. Surely we are not merely a nation of some 47,000,000 people shut up in a crowded island? We are at once a European and a world power and, what is more, an Imperial power. Surely it is in the development of our Empire and in the strengthening of the economic ties which bind us to the Dominions that our future lies. Let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that this will be easy. Let us not deceive ourselves by supposing that if we are to develop our Empire it will not be at the expense of our own consumption. But how much better to deprive ourselves for such an object than go into a descending spiral, such as we apparently are confronted with at the moment, for no object at all.

I do not intend to talk about Imperial Preference as such, though I gravely fear that it may be weakened by what is afoot

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[Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.]

now. But I do say that there is a choice before this country, a choice which may be a fleeting one. If we show the right spirit of enterprise and courage and an imaginative grasp of affairs now, we may be able to revive our nation in a way that will astonish the world. After all, the people of America expanded across that great Continent in a way that still astonishes our contemporaries. An immense development took place in the '60's, '70's and '80's of the last century. Is it too much to hope that we, in this country, with our great estate cannot develop it to a commensurate degree. Let us no longer bicker about the past. Let us put aside old sectional quarrels. Let us see if we cannot, at the cost of sacrifice if need be, at the cost of further hardship if it must be, go forward to make a third world Power a reality. In so doing we shall not be pursuing a policy of conquest, a policy of selfishness. We know that the British Commonwealth of Nations can be the model upon which a greater unity can be established in the world. Let us see that this opportunity is not lost both to ourselves and to our children, and that we secure at once the prosperity of these Islands, of the Dominions and of all the great territories under the British Crown, and, at the same time, promote the greater probability of peace in our time.

5.7 p.m.

THE EARL OF PERTH: My Lords, I would like, for a few moments, to pass from the domestic issues which have elicited so many brilliant and even exciting speeches, and devote a little time to the international scene. I make no apologies for doing so because I believe that if we can make real progress towards the establishment of a peaceful world, then our economic recovery becomes much easier than if we have a world which is troubled and in a state of confusion. There are a few short references in the gracious Speech to foreign affairs. I note that in one such reference the gracious Speech expresses the hope that the forthcoming Conference of Foreign Ministers will result in a measure of agreement which will lead to the satisfactory settlement of the international status of Austria. I fear that those words, as they stand, may create a feeling of despondency among the people of Austria who are to-day doing their utmost to make a

democratic and economic recovery in very difficult circumstances. I would like to remind your Lordships that the international status of Austria was definitely settled at the Moscow Conference in the late Autumn of 1942, and that the three Powers concerned then stated that they wished to see re-established "a free and independent Austria." In debates about Austria which we have had in this House, your Lordships received from the mouth of the noble Lord, Lord Pakenham, an assurance that the territorial integrity of Austria would not be diminished. I realize, of course, that he could speak only for His Majesty's Government. But I do very earnestly hope that the noble Earl who is going to reply to this debate will be able to say something reassuring on this point which I know is otherwise likely to cause considerable distress.

The gracious Speech also promises that the Government will fully support the United Nations and seek, by that means, to promote the mutual trust and toleration on which peaceful progress depends. I believe that to be an absolutely right policy. Let us remember that the nations of the British Commonwealth are among the warmest and most ardent supporters of the United Nations. All of us no doubt have felt sad and dissatisfied at some of the proceedings of the Security Council, and particularly the refusal of the Soviet representatives to co-operate except on their own terms, and the continuous use—I should say abuse—of the veto. But in spite of all these dissensions, the Assembly of the United Nations which is now sitting is producing real and definite results. And why? Because there is no veto. The results are much more satisfactory than many of us know.

It is in the Security Council that the trouble lies. I agree with the noble Marquess, the Leader of the Opposition, that the veto is bad in itself. He has never liked it and I have never liked it, but he defended it because he said that without it we should never have had a comprehensive organization. I think he is right. I agree the price was high, but the stakes are enormous. In spite of what the noble Marquess said yesterday, I feel that to endeavour to amend the Charter so as to do away with the veto would completely break this young world organization in which we all have so much hope. What we should endeavour to do is to secure

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that the veto is not abused as it is abused at the present time. There is a proposal now before the Assembly to set up a Committee to study this problem and I sincerely hope that the representatives of the Government at the Assembly will give that proposal their fullest support.

We must remember that as a last resort the use of the veto can be made of no avail if the majority of the United Nations feel strongly on any particular point and are prepared to act. That majority could—and would, of course, only do so in exceptional circumstances—join together to carry out their joint desire outside the scope of the United Nations. Still, it is a possibility, and it was that possibility which very largely avoided any use of the veto in highly important matters in the days of the League of Nations. I speak with certain experience.

In this connexion I would like to call your Lordships' attention to Article 51 of the Charter of United Nations. I will read only the first sentence:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

I hold that in that Article lies defence against aggression. There is no veto in it because defensive action can be taken before the Security Council acts. It seems to me that the right of collective self-defence, as laid down in the Charter, is continuous and can go on until the Security Council takes measures for ensuring peace. That means that the veto cannot be used in that connexion. I believe, therefore, that the passage in the gracious Speech to which I have referred is fully justified, and I do not share the view which I think the noble Marquess took—I do not want to misrepresent him—that we should cut out what he called the "cancer" of the veto, otherwise the disease might kill the whole organization.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I hope I did not say that we ought to do it now. I said, "Let us beware lest this veto . . . should grow into a disease that will kill the whole organization." I did not ask for immediate action. I am in entire agreement with what the noble Earl has said up to now, but I think it is something we must keep in mind. If it did become a fatal weakness in the new

organization, we ought to face the necessity of cutting it out.

THE EARL OF PERTH: I accept fully what the noble Marquess has said and agree with him that there might come a time when we have to face it, but at present I do not believe the disease, which I agree exists, is nearly so dangerous as the operation would be. The operation is much more likely to kill the patient than the disease in this particular case. I referred to what the noble Marquess said because it seemed to me that he was a little unkind to the Government as regards their performance in the field of foreign affairs. Of course it is true that there has been a deterioration and we all deplore it, but I do not hold that the name of Britain abroad has fallen to a low ebb. I do not share that view at all. Nor do I believe that the deterioration in international affairs has been due to the policy pursued by the present Foreign Secretary. I have no doubt he occasionally, like other people, commits an indiscretion or two, but it is on very exceptional occasions. Perhaps he allows his tongue too much freedom at times, but I hope the noble Marquess will agree with me that his policy has been sound and wise.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I think I made no attack on the Foreign Secretary at any moment in my speech. But things have been promised and have not been realized. That, I think, is true.

THE EARL OF PERTH: Perhaps it is unwise to make promises. I agree that the realization has not taken place. The noble Marquess also spoke of the Government having antagonized both Arabs and Jews in the Middle East. I do not know if he had in mind Palestine, where passions on both sides run now so high that anybody who tries to be impartial or just is bound to be attacked and abused by the extremists of both Parties. I think we are right in referring the whole problem of Palestine to the United Nations and I trust that that organization will not only come to a definite decision in principle as to what shall happen but also—and this is most important—will arrange the implementation of any decision that may be reached. I think it is clear that we must withdraw our forces from Palestine without any undue delay. But again I earnestly trust that arrangements will be made with the other interested nations in

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THE EARL OF PERTH: After that little passage, on one thing we both seem to agree. The Soviet Government have not co-operated, either in the working of the Alliance or in the fulfilment of the Moscow and Yalta Conferences. I would say that

I do not know what that sentence means to your Lordships, but it conjures up in my mind a situation where everyone is fully alive to the difficulty of the present position, where everyone is fully conscious of his or her responsibility in the matter, and where everyone is prepared to forego whatever they may be called upon to forego in order that we may pull together, as we did during the war, and get the country out of its present difficulties. I wish I could really think that that was a true picture of the country to-day, but I find myself quite unable to do so.

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I am convinced that even now a very large part of the population have no conception of how serious the situation is. They cannot, therefore, be expected to react in a particularly altruistic or patriotic way—in other words, in the way in which the situation warrants, and in the way in which His Majesty's Government are calling on everyone to act. The fact that there are still so many shortages, so many queues, and other inconveniences, has become so much an accepted situation that a few more restrictions here and there do not strike one nearly so forcibly as they would have done a few years ago. We are like people who have been inoculated so many times that we are to some extent immune to further inconveniences. I am sure that there are a number of people who have given up wondering what is the cause behind new restrictions and problems.

The point, therefore, arises: how can we overcome what I consider is a lack of ability to discern what we are really up against? Alternatively, how can we find some substitute which will achieve the same end? It seems to me that, broadly speaking, there are two possible courses that we might adopt. The first is by an appeal to the more material instincts, by lifting somewhat the pall of austerity, and by diverting into the shops more goods which the people, and particularly the housewives, want, and so creating something really tangible which the people can see and work to acquire. The other course is to appeal more to the patriotic instincts. There I have in mind that the Government should make some gesture, so that everyone can understand and appreciate that they themselves are prepared to forego some of their Party programme, and so demonstrate that at the top, at any rate, the Government and the Opposition, while retaining absolutely their individual identities, are working more closely together for the common good.

It may well be—and I am inclined to think so myself—that the time has passed when the first alternative would be practical politics. Therefore, one must turn to consideration of the second. As far as I can see there is nothing in the gracious Speech or in what Government speakers have said which suggests they are prepared to adopt such a course. There is certainly more than one contentious matter in the Speech which could

so easily and wisely have been omitted and others, I suggest, that could have been more fully clarified to allay suspicion. During the Recess there was more than one occasion when Government spokesmen in different parts of the country went out of their way, one might almost think, to sow discord. There is certainly one Order—I refer to the abolition of the basic petrol ration, which the noble Lord, Lord Lucas, dealt with so admirably, and with whose sentiments I so absolutely concur—as to which, whatever may be the calculated reason for its imposition, we cannot get away from the fact that far too widely in the country as a whole it is looked upon as being not merely unwise, but a definite and calculated piece of prejudicial class legislation. I have no doubt your Lordships have met people who have expressed themselves in that way, and I have met them over and over again. They may be mistaken, but that point of view is very widely held in the country.

The noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, in his admirable speech told us—and I believe him to be correct—that never was there a time when there was greater co-operation in industry between management and organised labour. I am sure he would not claim that that was as a result of the efforts either of this or any previous Government, but was rather due to the good sense of all concerned who should very rightly receive the congratulations of the country as a whole. But I suggest that that pleasing state of affairs must not be allowed to delude us. The fact remains, whether we like it or not, that such of the electorate as are conscious of their political responsibility are very widely divided, and that division must militate against the general efficiency of the country. Although the responsibility for the economic plight of the country can only to a limited extent be placed at the door of the Government, there are many other powerful factors of which we all know, with which any Government would have had to contend if they had been in power. The fact that the country to-day is so widely divided politically and, therefore, so much less well prepared to meet the economic blast, is a situation for which the Government alone must accept responsibility.

Earlier I suggested that some sort of gesture on the part of His Majesty's

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Many noble Lords who have spoken have studiously avoided speaking on the question of the Parliament Act, but I will ask your Lordships' indulgence if I mention one or two points. I listened with great care to all that has been said, and in particular to the skilful advocacy on the part of the noble and learned Viscount regarding the Government's proposals, but I must say that I was far from convinced. If I understand it aright, your Lordships' House, during the last two years, has indeed acted beyond reproach. Are we then to understand that now, in this very critical time, we are not to be trusted to avoid something which will harm us not only internally in the country but also in

At the outset one should observe that the destiny of the United States and the

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destiny of the United Kingdom must inevitably lie together, and we must therefore know each other's interests and present position on all matters that may be common to the two of us. I am half American, and my father was an American, born and brought up in Maryland; and I still have relations living in America. With that in mind I am perfectly convinced that the Americans appreciate plain speaking on our part on all matters that might affect the two of us. I am therefore quite sure that it will in no way offend them. One often hears people say that we must not mention these things, that we must pull our punches. I am sure that is quite wrong.

If we should exercise plain speaking on any subject I am sure we should do so on the subject of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The strength we derive from the Commonwealth is not our own strength; it is the strength that belongs to the Commonwealth; and any policies affecting the Commonwealth must be the concern of every nation's administration as well as of our own. We should consider them fully before we take any steps likely to throw away what we derive from this group of nations. It would pay the United States for us to be strong not only in this island but also in the whole Commonwealth; and this not only because we can thus be a worthy partner to her in the Councils of the world, but also because this island alone provides one of her greatest markets.

I personally was very glad to see the passage in the gracious Speech which dealt with the expansion of Empire production, not only on a short-term basis for our immediate salvation but also on a long-term basis for the maintenance and the very existence of our Commonwealth. However, I do deeply regret that there was no word in the Speech about the furthering of Empire economic unity—in spite of the assurances given eighteen months ago in the debate on the Loan and also by the noble and learned Viscount on the Woolsack. To my mind the sentence contained in the gracious Speech is only half the picture. Any plans that are based purely on that sentence must be incomplete. There can be no adequate production in the Commonwealth without the economic unity of the Commonwealth being maintained the whole time on a trade basis. It is history that has proved that and not idle theory.

It is true to say, looking back at that history, that the Commonwealth has been entirely built up on the system of Imperial Preference. The system of Imperial Preference, the preference on each other's commodities, has given to the various units of the Commonwealth a springboard for production; and it has been in itself a thing that has made for the expansion of Empire industries because of the incentive given to Empire producers. That I am sure is worth all the development schemes this country could ever produce. Furthermore, I am certain that each one of the great nations that exist in the Commonwealth realizes that in great measure it owes its development to the growth of Imperial Preference. The effects of this system are many. In the first place it ensures markets for backward producers, producers who through the state of their country and their industries are unable to compete with more economic producers who turn out the same goods. Again, a system of Imperial Preference provides confidence for those producers in the future, above all by ensuring them a suitable market in the world where they know that at any time in the future they will be able to place their goods and sell them. This enables those producers to modernize their industry and expand their output so that the day comes when the preference can be gradually taken away, because the industries no longer need it. We certainly have not reached that day yet, and when we shall I do not think anyone can prophesy.

Another very important aspect is that under this system and by this process, the standard of living of the people, particularly in the Colonies, can be raised; and without the standard of living being raised, welfare schemes are perfectly useless and dangerous to the natives. It also provides not only goods for this country but also markets for our goods, because when the producers are able to expand and sell more goods they have more money and therefore are able to buy more goods from outside their own territories. It is not a great step from that to realizing that this process of strengthening the units of the Commonwealth and making them more prosperous directly increases their foreign trade and the trade they can do with countries like America, both by providing markets for goods from America

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Address in Reply to

[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech

[Lord Fairfax of Cameron.]
and also by enabling them to provide
markets for America.

I have here one or two examples which I thought I might give your Lordships to illustrate what I have said. One in particular which I have selected is the South African wine industry. This took place in the last century. In 1813 a preference was put on South African Cape wine; in 1823, ten years later, imports of South African wine into this country had increased ten times. In 1860, when the free trade era came in, direct preferential duties were removed, and at that date, that is at the end of the preferential period, the South African Union were sending to this country 600,000 gallons of wine per annum. In 1870, ten years later—after the preferential duties had been removed—the wine that was being brought into this country had dropped from 600,000 gallons per year to 40,000 gallons per year. In 1896 the quantity of wine being shipped to this country had dropped to under 10,000 gallons per year. That is one very clear illustration of the extraordinary effects of Imperial preference.

Now I would like to give your Lordships another illustration of a different aspect, and that is the effect of preferential agreements upon trade between the Commonwealth and countries outside the Commonwealth—say, with America. These are figures of Empire imports from foreign countries, and they are probably the most important at this particular stage. There were imported into the United Kingdom in 1933 £425.9 million worth of goods; in 1937 there were imported into the United Kingdom £622.6 million worth of goods. That is a very considerable increase. Your Lordships will remember that the date 1933 was just after the Ottawa Agreements, when Imperial preference was for the first time imposed. By 1937 your Lordships will see the effects the imposition had had.

I have other figures here, but I will not delay your Lordships long. I would just like to give your Lordships one other set of figures to show that this is not a fluke. Into the Dominions, India and Burma were imported in 1933 £161.6 million worth of goods. In 1937 the figure had risen to £295.6 million worth of goods, a very considerable increase. Those are just figures, and I have tried to show your Lordships the extraordinary effects

that Imperial preference has upon our Commonwealth, and not only upon our Commonwealth and this island but upon the whole of world trade. What sheer madness it must be for us in any way to sacrifice it or in any way allow it to be whittled down. Furthermore, I hope that this will show also what an inseparable part it must be of any development scheme for our great Empire.

5.53 p.m.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I beg leave to intervene for a few brief moments to say something, if I may, which is very much on my conscience although I have had little opportunity to clothe it in words. Yesterday, from the most reverend Primate, the Archbishop of York, Lord Halifax, Lord Elton and others, there were deeply impressive appeals for national unity at this moment—appeals in which they spoke, I am perfectly certain, for every member of every Party. Not one of us can doubt that, faced with a crisis which threatens our very existence as a great nation, our first need as a nation, and therefore the paramount duty of every one of us, is to minimize to the uttermost possible the things which give rise to internal division and discord, and to concentrate all our attentions, all our energies and all our efforts unitedly upon the grave and serious task of saving the situation.

The Government have declared their intention of raising a constitutional issue by amending the Parliament Act of 1911. I am saying nothing at all either for or against the proposal in itself. I am concerned only with the fact that the proposal is made at this particular moment in our national history. At this particular moment, let me say it again, every matter, whether of high politics or of our domestic behaviour and habits, must be judged by one criterion only: will it help or will it hinder our immediate national task? Will it unite or will it divide the spirit, the attention and the effort of our people? No other question is relevant at all.

The Lord Chancellor said yesterday:

"Cannot we settle this matter, and bury it for another thirty-six years?"

For thirty-six years this particular bone of contention has been buried. The Government—and nobody else—have dug it up again. Why? We must apply the only

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relevant criterion. Have they disinterred it to meet a national need, to meet an immediate national need? Have they disinterred it to increase national unity and national drive? It really distresses me to say that, so far as I can see, the answer to that question must be "No." The reason, the only reason, which has been given to us is that the Government desire to remove a possible danger to their carrying through everything that they desire within the lifetime of this Parliament. To remove this possible danger or decrease it they propose to alter the Constitution.

As I have said, I am not interested in the merits of this proposal at all. It may be ideally a better arrangement that they propose or ideally a worse. I do not know, and at this moment I do not care. The point is that the proposal is arguable, that it has already begun to be argued, that it will go on being argued with increasing heat. Round this bone of contention there will be a dog fight. The Government must have known from the start that the raising of this question would cause inevitable acute political controversy and, therefore, must divert the attention and the energies of the nation from its overwhelming task. The Prime Minister said in another place yesterday:

"A great deal of time has passed since the Parliament Act of 1911 and it is quite well worth while looking again at that Bill."

Very likely. The only relevant question, as I have said, is this: Is it worth while to look at it now? Will it help the nation in its hour of need to throw into the arena this bone of contention or this apple of discord?

I should like the Government to give a plain national answer to that question. I would ask them to consider the position of persons like myself—and I speak here for many many other people. I am non-political in the sense of having no Party politics. I have been—and I think my friends in the Government will agree—by no means unfriendly, by no means over-critical of the Government's actions. I have more than once and in many ways tried my best to help them in their immense task. Not only I but the Churches throughout the country have been behind the Government and have backed them up in their appeals for united effort and united sacrifices, and I may say that the Government have been

glad to ask for and to have our assistance. What of us—the non-political men, the non-Party men, the men of good will, the Churches, at this moment, whose one concern is to strengthen and support the spirit, the morale and the unity of our people, and to base it on deep and enduring principles? What can we say now to our people, as all the clamour and the discord of this contentious matter will develop?

If we complain that the Government have gratuitously dug up this bone we shall appear to be opponents of the Government, we shall appear to be taking part in political controversy, and, willy nilly, we shall be doing the one thing we desire not to do, which is to divide the energies of the nation by our complaints. If we argue the merits of the proposal then we shall be in the dog fight ourselves, and we shall, no doubt, find ourselves divided, some for and some against, and that unity of the men of good will of no Party will be broken. Can we go on bidding our people to continue with their hard work, with their sacrifices, with their saving of everything they can save, with their united effort and their Dunkirk spirit, as if this dog fight were not there at all? No doubt, if no other course is left to us, we shall do precisely that thing, but what we say will be drowned by the noise of the fight and will not be heard, and so our dearest efforts will be frustrated.

My Lords, there is, I venture to suggest, a dilemma into which we of no Party, and good people of all Parties, are put. Cannot we be spared, and cannot with us the nation be spared, this confusion? I honestly believe that the country as a whole does not in the least desire this confusion at this moment. It wants to get on with the job. I honestly believe that non-Party men almost universally disapprove of it. I am pretty certain myself that many on the Government side of this and the other House really deplore it too. If it is wanted it is wanted, I believe, only by a section of our people. The Lord Chancellor said yesterday, honestly and humbly, that this Government had made mistakes, as any Government do. Is not this, soberly considered in the view of our national position, really a major mistake?

Having made a gesture, and having seen how it has hurt many of their friends

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LORD ALTRINCHAM: I am sure he did. Nothing could be more harmful to unity, and, as the most reverend Primate has just said, nothing could be more irrelevant to the state of the country in the present desperately critical circumstances, than this proposal. On the broader subject of the constitutional issue I would add only one or two words to make our position here completely clear. There is, of course, a certain measure of importance in the question whether the delay should be of one or two years. I

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do not wish to underrate the importance of that. But I do not think that is in any way the critical issue which is at stake. If it were only that, it would not be a matter of such importance as we think. But far graver is the assumption which must be made that, if this precedent is created, constitutional changes can be made without reference to or mandate from the country. Far graver is the precedent which acceptance of any such action must create.

The noble and learned Viscount the Lord Chancellor evaded that question of principle. He argued, like the nursemaid, in *Midshipman Easy* that, although the baby might be of rather shady origin, was it not extremely small? The question of principle raised by this political baby, with its extremely shady origin, is one which no one who stands for the rule of law in our national life should so lightly under-rate. I beg leave to illustrate its gravity by reference to one constitutional function of the highest moment which is laid upon this House. The greatest danger arising from single Chamber domination is the power of a Parliament of a single Chamber, with a temporary majority, to prolong its own life. That is how authoritarian governments and how dictatorships have become established again and again in the history of the world, and by constitutional means.

That danger is gravely accentuated in this country by two features of our political system. One is that we have no written Constitution. Parliament can, at any time, do anything it likes. The other is that we—or at any rate both the great Parties, for I know that the Liberal Party is not of the same mind—favour an electoral system which provides for large majorities and strong Executives out of all proportion to the majority of votes on which these Executives are based. Both these features give exceptional importance to the constitutional procedure in the relations of the two Houses of Parliament. The Parliament Act deals with that point. It makes express provision in one matter, and it is a matter in which, and the only matter in which, under the Parliament Act, the power of this House is unlimited. That is, if the Lower Chamber, the popular Chamber, proposes an extension of the life of Parliament—proposes, that is to say, to prolong its own existence beyond the five years laid down in the Parliament Act.

H.L. No. 2

The Lord Chancellor may say: "Well, we will not touch that. You may rely upon us to leave that in the Parliament Act." I believe him when he says that. It would not enter my imagination to suppose that Ministers of the character now governing us would make a change of that kind. But what is the value of the assurances they give us? What right have they to give us their assurances? How can they pledge the future? Once they have opened wide these gates, once this precedent is established, then a fundamental change in our Constitution can be introduced by the will of one House, without consulting the people whose liberties are at stake, without a mandate of even the shadowiest sort. Then indeed the gates will be wide open for further amendments of any kind by the will of one House.

This sudden departure, in the circumstances which have more than once been faithfully described in the course of this debate, is proof enough that the Moderates in the Government cannot always be counted upon to resist measures which they themselves condemn. There is no assurance, except in adequate powers in a Second Chamber, esteemed by the country, that moderation will prevail. The Lord Chancellor himself conceded that. He said, after a tribute which we gratefully recognize, to the moderation shown on this side of the House, that after all, my noble friend, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Leader of the Conservative Opposition is not immortal. Is the Lord Chancellor himself immortal? Is the noble Viscount, Lord Addison, immortal—as we would like him to be? I think he is all but immortal. But even if these moderate Ministers who have yielded in this case are still holding their offices can they, in the light of this sudden red rocket which they have allowed to burst in the Parliamentary sky, be relied upon to resist further demands for headlong action in purely Party interest?

I am speaking in no partisan sense. In disturbed times extremism, and, as my noble friend behind me said very truly yesterday, intolerance also, inevitably gather strength. We, on this side of the House, fear extremism from the Left. Noble Lords opposite may fear it from the Right. Revolutionary action breeds reaction, and who can say, when once they are in opposition to each other, which will prevail? In common with

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[Lord Altrincham.]
most Englishmen and Englishwomen I have an equal loathing for both. The only safeguard against either, under our system, is a well-balanced Second Chamber holding the country's esteem and confidence.

The real issue, therefore, is not the powers of this House, but the composition of this House, and the Lord Chancellor, himself, in fact, conceded that. If the Government will face that, the real issue, we shall welcome it. There is, on this side of the House, no clinging to unearned or unmerited political privilege. The father of my noble friend the Marquess of Salisbury, nay his grandfather, long ago sought to correct that anomaly and anachronism in our State. On March 14, 1914—thirty-three years ago—Lord Rosebery moved Resolutions upon it, which were carried without a Division in this House. In particular he moved:

"That a necessary condition of such reform and reconstitution is acceptance of the principle that the possession of a peerage should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote in this House."

That complete modification of the hereditary principle was accepted without a Division in this House thirty-three years ago, and similar Motions have been carried in this House on many occasions since. If the Lord Chancellor fears those legendary Peers known as backwoodsmen, as he said yesterday he did, let him support this House, of which he is the central figure and of which he is so distinguished an ornament, in doing what it has so often sought to do in the past; that is, to reform itself.

It is no fault of this House that reform has never taken place. It is the fault of all Parties in another place. It arises from the fear of the overshadowing of the Commons by this House—a fear which is caused by a proper jealousy of the rights of the other place. I am a very old Member of that other place, and it may be taken in this matter that I am speaking the truth. We have no quarrel here with that sentiment. We feel that the Second Chamber should be so constituted as to balance and complement, but not to overshadow, the popular House. But we also hold, and this we surely will make good if it is challenged before the country, which is the ultimate judge, that a balanced Second Chamber, with adequate powers,

is an indispensable guarantee of the liberties which have made this country great. We stand for parliamentary as against authoritarian government and the steps that lead to that. We stand for sanity and moderation and tolerance, without which parliamentary government will be doomed to fatal and final eclipse. 6.22 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR BURMA (THE EARL OF LISTOWEL): My Lords, I am sure we agree—and I am glad that there is something about which we can still agree—that the debate we have just heard has not developed into a Party scrimmage or dog fight, in spite of the temptations which must have been felt by a number of speakers to score hits at what they obviously regarded as a fairly vulnerable and exposed target. The tone of the debate was, I think, set by the admirable and characteristic speeches of the two noble Lords who moved and seconded the humble Address. The approach of most of the noble Lords and of course the most reverend Primate, whose words will I have no doubt be deeply pondered by my colleagues of the Government, have been from the standpoint of national advantage. The debate has been sustained at a level that is worthy of such an occasion, and of similar occasions which your Lordships will remember in the past, and in accordance with the traditions of this House towards the country's problems and difficulties. For my part I will do my best to reply to the points that have been raised by noble Lords, apart, of course, from those covered by my noble and learned friend on the Woolsack when he answered yesterday afternoon. I cannot cover the whole ground, but I will cover as much of it as I can.

The noble Lords, Lord Strabolgi and Lord Lucas, raised the point about the Petroleum Board, and they regretted its dissolution. The facts are these. The Petroleum Board is dissolving in accordance with the terms of the agreement under which it was set up at the Government's request in 1938. This stated that the Board should dissolve within two years of the end of the war or at an earlier date by agreement among its members. The Board has now notified the Government of its intention to dissolve. The Government has, in fact, no power to request its continued operation and we do not regard such a continuance as necessary. It is clear from that, that we have

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a Motion on the Table for next Wednesday.

The noble Lord, Lord Rankellour, was good enough to give me advance notice of the points he meant to raise about Burma, and I will give him as full a reply as I am in a position to provide. I cannot give the noble Lord the complete answer which he might have expected, because neither the Treaty with Burma nor the Burma Bill have yet been published. The defence arrangements, for example, are dealt with in the Treaty and the noble Lord will be in a position to judge for himself the merits or otherwise of these arrangements as soon as the Treaty is published, on Friday. And, of course, the contents of the Treaty will be a matter for discussion during the Second Reading debate on the Bill in this House and in another place. I should like to make it abundantly clear that although the Treaty has been signed, it has not yet been ratified, either by Burma or by His Majesty's Government. We shall not ratify the Treaty until after the Bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament. I think that is the proper constitutional procedure. Similarly in Burma it is waiting the sanction of the Constituent Assembly.

I think I can reassure the noble Lord about the position of the minorities in Burma and the inhabitants of the frontier areas. We have taken the line all along that they should have complete freedom to settle their own future relationship with Burma. The settlement that has now been reached does the utmost credit to the moderation and willingness to co-operate shown on both sides, and promises well for the unity and strength of the future Union of Burma. The new Constitution of Burma, of which I will send the noble Lord a copy (I am sorry he has not already received one) was voted unanimously by the Constituent Assembly, which included representatives of the Chins, the Kachins, the Shans, the Karens, whom the noble Lord mentioned, as well as representatives of the Karenni States. It safeguards in two ways the interests that minorities have in Burma: by a guarantee of fundamental rights, and by establishing the structure of the new Union of Burma as a Federal State. The noble Lord will find that in Articles 13 and 14 of the Constitution all citizens, irrespective of birth, religion, sex or race,

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Let me tell the noble Lord what I can about the position of these Officers of the Government of Burma. They are servants of the Government of Burma—I think that should be made clear—and have to look to the Government of Burma for a decision as to the terms to be offered them on the transfer of power. At the same time, we have been doing whatever we can to see that fair treatment is accorded to them. I took part in these discussions myself, and I am quite satisfied that the present Government of Burma is most anxious to meet their requirements and shares our

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desire that they should have a fair deal. Negotiations and discussions have been proceeding for some time and it should be possible in the very near future, and I hope well in advance of the Second Reading of the Burma Independence Bill in another place, to make public the terms which will be offered to the various categories of these officers.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: The noble Earl will forgive me for interrupting. I would like to ask whether it is the fact that the terms safeguarding the rights of our officers do not form any part of the Treaty.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: No, that is not the case. So far as the Secretary of State's officers are concerned they are covered in the Treaty. The terms, of course, will be published simultaneously with the Treaty. So far as the servants of the Government of Burma are concerned—for instance, railway officers, veterinary officers, and so on—their terms are a matter for the Government of Burma, and will be published when the Government of Burma agrees that their publication should take place, and, of course, after they have been decided. They are outside the Treaty.

The noble Lord, Lord Rankeillour, complained of what had happened in India as a result of our policy, and said that he considered that we had committed a grievous sin. I think it is most important to see the events in India in a true perspective. This should not lessen in the slightest our sympathy for the grim plight of the refugees, or of the victims of the horror and brutality of communal warfare. We must also, I think, sympathize with the two young Governments of India and Pakistan, which have been faced with these tragic events while they are still engaged in building up their own administrative machine. It is, however, not recognized in all quarters that these disturbances have been limited to two out of the fourteen provinces of India and Pakistan, and have affected a very small proportion of the total population of the Indian sub-continent. The vast majority of the inhabitants of this sub-continent, I am happy to say, are living in peace and security, and have not been touched by what has happened in the Punjab. Exaggerated reports about these events inevitably add fuel to the flames of communal passion and do harm to our relations with both Dominions. I think it is vitally important that these things

should be seen in a true and correct perspective.

LORD RANKEILLOUR: I do not think the noble Earl said anything about the questions of defence or how the Supreme Court in Burma is to be appointed.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: I did mention defence, and I think I would rather inform the noble Lord about the technical procedure of the appointment of the Supreme Court afterwards, because it is a matter of comparative detail and I have a lot more to say in reply to other speakers in the debate.

The noble Lord, Lord Dukeston, referred to the prospect of rapid economic progress in the Colonies. Of course, we attach immense importance to this, both as a means of raising the standard of living in the Colonies and of improving at the earliest possible moment our own meagre rations. This is not the only form of progress that is now within sight, for there are welcome indications of further advance. I hope that this will satisfy the noble Lord, Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, and other noble Lords who have spoken rather regretfully about our neglect in respect of the Commonwealth, that we are doing our utmost to secure its future. It is a sign, I think, of the robust vitality of the Commonwealth that the evolution of its Dependencies towards a higher degree of self-government, which was temporarily arrested by the war, has now been generally resumed. The strength of the Commonwealth lies in its capacity for adapting existing institutions with little delay to meet changes in social or political conditions.

The problem of the nineteenth century was how the White Colonies were to achieve their independence without severing their moral ties with the Mother Country. A solution was found in the freedom and equality of Dominion status. The problem of this century is how the coloured peoples under British Rule are to secure their political aims without losing the sense of partnership with us in a world-wide family of nations.

An important step forward in this direction is about to be taken by Ceylon. I am delighted to have the support of noble Lords opposite, exemplified by the noble Viscount, Lord Swinton, for the efforts we have made and are making to accelerate the political advance of Ceylon.

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Address in Reply to

[LORDS]

His Majesty's Speech

[The Earl of Listowel.]

I am quite sure that what the noble Viscount said, coming as it did from a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, will be particularly valuable both at home and in Ceylon. I am glad to be able to inform your Lordships that His Majesty's Government's declaration concerning future constitutional development in Ceylon was warmly acclaimed when it was conveyed to that country. The General Elections have now taken place and a new Government under the leadership of Mr. Senanayake, the Prime Minister, has been formed. His Majesty's Government anticipate that in the very near future agreements on a variety of matters will have been concluded with this Government. The way will then be open for the legislation foreshadowed in the gracious Speech conferring full responsible status on Ceylon. I feel sure that your Lordships will agree that, since the people of Ceylon have proved in peace and in war their ability to conduct their own affairs within the framework of their own democratic institutions, the necessary action to implement our declaration should be taken without delay.

The noble Lord, Lord Strabolgi, was also good enough to give me advance notice of the points he intended to raise, and therefore I will answer him more fully than I will answer some noble Lords on the question of reparations from Germany. Our proposals for taking reparations from Germany are bound up with the main principles of our policy towards Germany, which I believe your Lordships have already approved. I will only remind the House of its two essential features. The first is to create a political situation in Germany that will prevent the rise of another dictator and make impossible the revival of an aggressive policy that has led to two world wars.

The second is to encourage the development of German production and trade, until that country becomes not only self-supporting, but able to repay what the Allies have spent on her since the occupation and to make good the damage done by the *Wehrmacht* during the war. The economic recovery of Germany to this point will also help to reconstruct and raise the standard of living in other European countries, which will benefit greatly from German coal and manufactured products. Of course we

shall prevent the simultaneous building up of a German industrial war potential.

These are the principal considerations we had in mind in fixing the level of German industry, and in our plan for distributing surplus industrial plant and equipment as reparations. We are bound in this matter by the terms of two solemn engagements. We have undertaken, both by the Potsdam Agreement and by the final Act of the Paris Conference on Reparation, to distribute as reparations plant which is surplus to the authorized level of German industry. It is surely unthinkable that we should tear up these Agreements on the eve of the November meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In that event we should have to abandon all the hope of a settlement which might well result in a stable and united Europe. The present reparations plan contains as complete a statement of the reparations which will be taken from the British and American zones as is possible at this stage, though a few industries on the prohibitive list remain for examination. The present plan is intended to carry out the proposals in the plan for the level of industry in the Anglo-American zones which was published last August. The object of this scheme was to remove industrial capacity which might reasonably be regarded as contributing to German war potential, but at the same time to leave an industrial capacity sufficient for the German people to achieve and maintain a decent standard of living.

We have been criticized by people who say that the real purpose of our level of industry and reparations plans is to restrict German competition in world markets for the sake of our own selfish interests. These allegations are completely without foundation.

LORD STRABOLGI: My noble friend realizes that I mentioned nothing of the kind myself and do not support this allegation.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: I, of course, realize that, and I make no suggestion of the kind. We have consistently pressed for a substantial increase in the level of industry fixed by the Control Council in March, 1946, and I should like to emphasize the big difference between the present plan and the plan for the level of industry drawn up in the spring of 1946. Under

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Caernarvon

[LORDS]

Gas Order, 1947

[The Earl of Listowel.]

share with me an intense admiration for the inexhaustible patience and dogged perseverance of the Foreign Secretary, during many weary years and throughout a number of abortive conferences. The essential condition on which the Foreign Ministers must agree is that Germany should be treated as an economic whole. It is not this country's fault that Germany has not so far been treated in this way and our efforts at this Conference will be to secure a reversal of what has happened in this respect in times past.

I am glad to have this opportunity, thanks to the noble Earl, Lord Perth's kindness in communicating with me in advance, of assuring your Lordships that His Majesty's Government have no intention of abating their determination to do all they can to secure a free and sovereign Austrian State which will have a reasonable prospect of economic prosperity. The Austrian Treaty Commission, which has sat in Vienna throughout the summer months, has failed to solve any of the unagreed articles of the Treaty left over from Moscow, and we are fully aware of the concern with which the long delay in concluding a treaty is viewed in Austria. Nevertheless, our experts in Vienna have been able to acquire a very fair picture of the German assets problem, and we still feel that it will be possible to arrive at a just settlement of this complex question. We want to see the development of a prosperous Austrian economy, to ensure the independent status of Austria and at the same time to satisfy legitimate allied claims.

THE EARL OF PERTH: Can the noble Earl give an assurance that we shall do our utmost to ensure that the integrity of Austria will not be in any way diminished?

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: Yes. What I have said covers the territorial integrity, and it applies to the boundary. I should like to conclude by apologizing to those noble Lords to whose points I have not been able to reply, and to thank the House for a survey of the situation which I am sure will be of the utmost value to myself and to my colleagues in the Government.

THE MARQUESS OF READING: I put one very direct question to the noble Earl

in my speech. I said I hoped he might state whether the Government contended that they had at this stage a mandate for the introduction of the Bill to amend the Parliament Act.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Cannot we get an answer, if not from the noble Earl, from the noble and learned Viscount on the Woolsack? This is a point which I also made. I made it yesterday, and it was entirely ignored in the noble and learned Viscount's speech.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think it inconvenient to raise the point at this stage. Noble Lords will have read the Prime Minister's speech made in another place last evening and I can add no more at this stage. The Prime Minister called attention to the fact that in *Let us Face the Future*, the words were—

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "We will not tolerate . . ."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: What the Prime Minister in effect said was this: that so long as there was no obstruction this clause will do no harm. It is therefore, he said, put in as a precaution, to prevent the obstruction which he said might otherwise take place. That is my recollection of the way the Prime Minister put it, and naturally I should not desire to put it in any different way. I would commend to your Lordships the Prime Minister's words on this matter, which were very carefully considered beforehand, and I really think that that is the best answer I can give.

On Question, Motion agreed to, *nemine dissente*: the said Address to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

CAERNARVON GAS ORDER, 1947.

Special Order proposed to be made on the application of the Mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the Borough of Caernarvon:

Laid before the House (pursuant to the Act) for affirmative Resolution, and referred to the Special Orders Committee.

House adjourned at seven o'clock.

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E 10043/46/31

[Confidential]

DRAFT

The Marquess of
Salisbury.

(From the Secre-
tary of State)

RECEIVED IN
DIVISION.

5/11

6/11

Private Secretary

BASIS

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But you
favoured a
reference to the
United Nations
without any
recommendation
from us, which
is precisely what
we have done.

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31/11

OUT FILE

Shov.

October, 1947.

106

Personal and Confidential

Dear Salisbury,

When speaking in the House of Lords on
October 21st you said that "by a really
"remarkable stroke of foreign policy, we have
"managed to antagonise both the Jews and the
"Arabs in the Middle East". This was of
course only a passing reference to Palestine
in a speech which ranged over a wide field,
but I trust it does not mean that you disagree
with the Government's present policy in
regard to Palestine.

(manuscript)
I recall that you wrote me a letter on
January 8th expressing considerable concern at
the possibility that we might eventually refer
the Palestine question to the United Nations
with a recommendation that a scheme of partition
should be adopted, ~~in which case you~~
you foresaw the possi-
bility of our "championing the Zionist cause
"of a Jewish State against the united Moslem
"nations, who would presumably have the support
"of Russia".

I hope that, in the light of the Colonial
Secretary's statement of September 26th at the
United Nations, you will agree that we have
successfully avoided the particular pitfalls
which you foresaw in your letter of January 8th.
Our attitude is, indeed, strictly impartial and
we have made plain our decision not to accept
the responsibility of implementing any
solution which is not agreed by both parties.


It/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Yours sincerely, 
(Sgd.) Ernest Bevin.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference:-

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OUT FILE

108

5th November, 1947.

(B 10043/46/31)

Personal and Confidential

Dear Lord Salisbury,

When speaking in the House of Lords on the 21st October you said that "by a really remarkable stroke of foreign policy, we have managed to antagonise both the Jews and the Arabs in the Middle East". This was of course only a passing reference to Palestine in a speech which ranged over a wide field, but I trust it does not mean that you disagree with the Government's present policy in regard to Palestine.

I recall that you wrote me a manuscript letter on the 8th January expressing considerable concern at the possibility that we might eventually refer the Palestine question to the United Nations with a recommendation that a scheme of partition should be adopted, in which case you foresaw the possibility of our "championing the Zionist cause of a Jewish State against the united Moslem nations, who would presumably have the support of Russia". But you favoured a reference to the United Nations without any recommendation from us, which is precisely what we have done.

I hope that, in the light of the Colonial Secretary's statement of the 26th September at the United Nations, you will agree that we have successfully avoided the particular pitfalls which you foresaw in your letter of the 8th January. Our attitude is, indeed,

strictly/

The Right Honourable
Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

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strictly impartial and we have made plain our decision not to accept the responsibility of implementing any solution which is not agreed by both parties. It is the Soviet Union and the United States who have come down in favour of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine majority plan of partition. We have good reason to believe that our attitude has been generally appreciated by the Arabs.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) Ernest Bevin.

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1947

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PALESTINE

E 10056

29 OCT

110

Registry
Number

E 10056/46/21

FROM

No.

Various.

Dated

Received
in Registry

29 Oct

Meeting on Palestine, Pro Jewish

Various.

Last Paper

10048

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Minutes.)

- 1) Herman Havin
- 2) M. Louis Franklin
- 3) J. H. Feinberg
- 4) Mabel Farrell
NA Sept.

JB Oct. 31

- 5) E. L. Walsh
- 6) W. A. Reid
NA Sept.

JB Nov. 5

(Mr. Reid had read the New Testament as well as the Old)

- 7) George F. B. Davis

JB Nov. 7

- 8) Meger Rosenberg

JB Nov. 20

- 9) G. R. Lanning

JB Dec. 12

(Action
completed)

7/1/48

(Index)

11/4/48

Next Paper

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10, DOWNING STREET, S.W.1

PRIVATE SECRETARY

Foreign Office 28 OCT 1947

112

The attached communication addressed to the Prime Minister is transmitted to you to be dealt with in whatever manner is considered appropriate by the Department concerned. It refers to ~~previous correspondence which was forwarded to you on~~.....

E 10056

1. No acknowledgment has been sent from here.

2. A plain acknowledgment ~~has~~ ^{29 OCT} been sent from here, adding that the communication has been forwarded to your Department.

3. A copy of the acknowledgment which has been sent from here is attached.

Date 15th October, 1947

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18/10
1370 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 12, N.Y.
September 30, 1947
enter file

Hon. Clement Attlee
Prime Minister of England
Downing Street
London, England

Sir:

As an American who has long admired the prowess and the traditions of the British Army and Navy I have always celebrated the holidays which commemorated some of their greatest victories. Waterloo, Trafalgar, and above all El Alemain, are achievements which I never fail to note.

In order, therefore, that I may celebrate accurately, I would appreciate your informing me as to what date you have chosen to commemorate the victory over the Exodus 1947.

Is it going to be the day on which the British Navy, fighting against great odds, defeated the heavily armed foe off the coast of Palestine? Or will it be the day on which the fanatical hordes were safely brought to bay off the coast of France? Or will it be the day on which the British Army achieved its smashing victory over the remnants of the enemy by imprisoning them at Hamburg?

I am sure that there are many Americans who are as interested as I am in sharing with you the commemoration of this great series of triumphs for democracy, justice, and freedom. If you have not yet designated the proper day, please do so as quickly as possible in order that we may prepare well in advance for next year.

Very respectfully yours,

Herman Slavin
Herman Slavin

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508 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
KITTINGING, PENNA.

Sept. 8, 1947

Clement Attlee Hon(?)

England

Big Brave Britain

His Battle over Refugees

This was her proudest hour

Onward British soldiers

Against these helpless homeless refugees

We shall fight them

On the shores in sight of their promised land

On the coast of France

and in the ships off Hamburg (British Sportsmanship?)

We shall make them promises

Which we will not keep.

And incite the Arabs against them (British Picket?)

(And to think a short time ago we sang

'The White Cliffs of Dover')

An American thinks this is England's

Most Disgraceful Hour

W. Louis Rustin

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PRESS & RADIO SERVICE AGENCY

GORDON H. FEINBERG
MANAGER

115
203 KINGSTON COURT
LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN, U.S.A.

enter Gene
October 20, 1947

E
VIA AIRMAIL

A. Dept
28 OCT 1947
Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Government of Great Britain
London, England

Sir:

A public opinion survey just completed in this section of the United States results in the favoring of support for approval of the Majority Report on Palestine.

Therefore, as a step toward British-American unity and a practical move toward settling the Palestine problem, I recommend that your British delegates to the United Nations vote for approval of the Report.

Sincerely yours,
Gordon H. Feinberg
Gordon H. Feinberg

GHF:pw

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

76 South Burnet Street,
East Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A.
September 29, 1947

R. 10.10.

enter Jews

TO:

✓ Hon. Atlee, Leader of Labor Party in England ✓
Hon. Herbert Morrison, Labor Party in England
Hon. Hector McNeil, English Representative, United Nations
United Nations Committee on Palestine Affairs
Representative Bender, Republican from Ohio

SUBJECT: A Colony of Palestine in South-West Africa,
former German colony, to be
A UNITED NATIONS WORLD PARK FOR JEWS, OR
A UNITED NATIONS WORLD PROTECTORATE FOR JEWS.

Gentlemen:

Nations set aside certain lands within their borders in which to perpetuate the natural animal life and the flora and fauna. These are known as NATIONAL PARKS. Why not a WORLD PARK OR WORLD PROTECTORATE FOR JEWS? If all the Jews who wish to get away from Europe and settle in Palestine cannot get in there (and the Arabs have already allowed to migrate there many thousands), why should they not have another piece of land on this vast earth's surface given to them to live in happily, busily, and in prosperity? If a way cannot be found easily to provide a national home for them, why not use a bit a forceful engineering to bring this about, within legal and moral bounds as far as is possible? Why not give them the former German colony known as South-West Africa, to which they, as former German citizens who in the past contributed to the economic and cultural welfare of Germany, have a legal right? This land is under British mandate, and would have the protection of the British Empire. It is part of the Union of South Africa, and from the accounts of the activities of the Germans there during Hitler's days, the Government would be glad to return to Germany the 9,500 Germans (out of a total population of 30,000.) This was done once before by the

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Government of the Union of South Africa. After the first World War the Germans in the colony of German East Africa (now known as Tanganyika) were sent back to Germany and their estates settled.

To counteract the German influence, in 1928 the Government imported from nearby Angola about 2,000 Boers, for their voting power. It cost the Government 500,000 pounds to settle them on farmlands, but it brought the day nearer when they could claim South-West Africa. With the 9,500 Germans returned to Germany, the balance of the population could either return to Angola or to Australia or other English colonies, leaving the entire country to homeless Jews, for themselves only, under the protection of the Union of South Africa.

To acquaint you with this land, please read the book by Selwyn James entitled "South of the Congo," published in 1943 by Random House Publishers. I would recommend Chapter 16, on South-west Africa, and the chapter on Tanganyika (formerly German East Africa). I have copied a few highlights which impressed me. Mr. James has been a recent traveler in this country, and writes from a political viewpoint.

To prevent a feeling of revenge from arising and being nursed in the German breast back in Germany for this, it could be clearly defined in the Peace Treaty with them, that the world knows that the German people are naturally kind, as 500 years ago they invited these Jews to their country when they were driven out of Spain. In the centuries that followed, a feeling of hate slowly developed for these Jews, who because of their religion-nationality, could not allow themselves to become absorbed as Germans. However, in all rationality, if they did not want the Jews in their country any longer, they could have offered them land else-

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where. Therefore, they are sorry for what was done to the Jews by Hitler, and wishing to make amends, offer the Jews for all time their former colony of South-West Africa, and will never try to take it back. These Jews should have had a homeland from the very beginning, and should never have been allowed to wander from country to country. If Germany then has no colonies, why the United States has no colonies, either.

Yours very truly,

Mabel Farrell

MABEL FARRELL

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In 1939, 9,500 Germans out of a total white population of 30,000. The others consisted largely of Afrikaners, with a sprinkling of Britons. (One-third German)

The Union Government in 1928 imported from Angola about 2,000 Boers. Their voting power was what counted. It cost the Government 500,000 pounds to settle them on farmlands, but it brought the Union nearer the day it could claim South-West Africa.

German destruction of native black Herreros, robbing them of their cattle.

Luderitz. seaport, dusty town.

In the former German colony of South-West Africa, now under a League of Nations Mandate to the South African Union, Hitler during his days built up a fifth column. Thousands of Germans have been permitted to take out British citizenship under the liberal Mandate system. They were free men living in a democracy, but they did not chose to remain free. By 1936 most of them were rabid Nazis, storing smuggled arms against the day when they would revolt to restore the colony to the Fatherland. Many of these South-West African Nazis have been interned, but they are still in Africa.

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1) N.A.
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over 100

Dear Mr. Atlee:

After looking over the press reports from Lake Success, where the United Nations is holding its sessions, I was very much chagrined and disappointed to read where your Secretary of State for Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, told the U.N. "that Britain plans to pull out of the Holy Land, whether or not a settlement is reached". Continuing, Mr. Jones states, "His Majesty's Government are not themselves prepared to undertake the task of imposing a policy in Palestine by force of arms". Now Mr. Atlee, I believe the Nation of Israel, commonly called the Jews, are God's chosen people, and no nation can prosper or expect to prosper who opposes in any manner those people, the way your Government is doing. I do not believe your Government would be allowed to re-instate them in Palestine alone. You would have the assistance of the Lord Himself. In support of that opinion I would just like to call your attention to a statement which the Lord made to Abraham, the Father of the Nation of Israel, as recorded in Genesis 12 - 1-7. In verse 3 we see the Lord said He would bless those who blessed them and curse those who cursed them. Look what happened to Germany when they opposed the Jews. Note the difference in the United States where the Jews are on equal footing with the other citizens. Just to illustrate the manner in which the Lord fights for these People is mentioned in Exodus 14- 13 on their deliverance from the Egyptians, Moses said "stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord". The Jews were delivered while their enemies were drowned. Another instance as to how the Lord favors His chosen People is recorded in the 7th chapter of 2nd Kings.

I would be delighted to receive a reply from you.

W.A. REID

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Eric L. Walsh.

61793

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DPD Hamburg, 9. September

wurden während der Ausschiffung 17 jüdische Männer und drei britische Soldaten verletzt. Sieben jüdische Frauen wurden bewusstlos von Bord getragen. Die bereits in den Zügen untergebrachten Flüchtlinge verweigerten die Annahme der Verpflegung. In größter Erregung beschimpften und bespöttelten sie die britischen Truppen. Erst nach Verhaftung des Hauptorganizers des Widerstandes begaben sich immer mehr Juden von Bord. Um 14.30 Uhr war die Ausschiffung der „Runnymede Park“ beendet.

Pressevertreter, die während der Ausschiffung an Bord gehen durften, berichteten, daß die Juden Konservendbüchsen und Flaschen zur Abwehr benutzten. Außerdem hatten sie Messer und mit Stacheldraht umwickelte Knüppel bereit, kamen aber nicht dazu, sie zu gebrauchen. Auch Frauen und Kinder hätten sich heftig gewehrt. Die Reporter haben nur zwei bis drei Kopfschläge beobachtet. Während der Ausschiffung der „Runnymede Park“ protestierten in Hamburg in der Nähe des Baakenhafens etwa 800 Juden, die mit Lastwagen aus Bergen-Belsen nach Hamburg gekommen waren. Die Protestaktion verlief ohne Zwischenfälle.

Zwischenfälle. ■ KI-Korrespondenten am Pier

Kai eigentlich mehr torkelte als normal ging.
Die Vertreter der Weltpresse verfolgten mit tiefer Anteilnahme, mit Erschütterung, aber auch mit größter Erregung diese Vorgänge. Zwei Vertreter deutscher jüdischer Organisationen, die zusammen mit der Presse Eingang in das Hafengelände gefunden hatten, schlossen sich immer wieder dem Protest derer an, die teilweise aus dem Schiff mehr herausgetragen wurden als gingen. Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß über die Vorfälle im H.amburger Hafen eine weitreichende Diskussion in der Presse der Welt beginnen wird.

Juden im Hamburger Hafen war, übermittelt
uns den folgenden Bericht.

Zwei junge Burschen, die ich über das Verhältnis der Juden zu den Arabern in Palästina befragte, gaben an, daß man in den europäischen Zeitungen vergesse, über Einigungsbewegung der beiden Völkerschaften zu berichten. Es gäbe sehr wohl Gewerkschaften, in denen Araber und Juden zusammen organisiert wären.

Nachdem etwa zwei Stunden ausgeladen worden war, kam es zu den ersten Zwischenfällen, die sehr schnell eine erregte Stimmung auslösten.



Fahrt hinter Gittern

Drei „Exodus“-Flüchtlinge nach ihrer Ausschiffung in Hamburg im Transportzug, der sie nach Poppendorf bei Lübeck brachte

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Exodus-Ausschiffung beendet

Erbitterter Widerstand beim Ausladen des dritten Dampfers

DPD Hamburg, 9. September

Die Ausschiffung der Passagiere der „Empire Rival“ und der „Runnymede Park“, der letzten beiden Schiffe der Exodus-Flotte, wurde am Dienstagmittag in Hamburg abgeschlossen. Bei der Ausladung der „Runnymede Park“ kam es zu Zwischenfällen. Die britischen Truppen mußten Gewalt anwenden, um die Juden zum Verlassen des Schiffes zu bewegen. Dagegen verlief die Ausschiffung der „Empire Rival“, dessen Passagiere bereits in den Lagern bei Lübeck eingetroffen sind, reibungslos.

Mehrmalige Aufforderungen, das Schiff zu verlassen, wurden von den Flüchtlingen auf der „Runnymede Park“ in den Vormittagsstunden mit Geheul und Pfeifen beantwortet. Nach einem letzten Auffordern, freiwillig das Schiff zu räumen, gingen um 12 Uhr, mit Stahlhelm und Gasmaske ausgerüstet, britische Fallschirmjäger und etwa

wurden während der Ausschiffung 17 jüdische Männer und drei britische Soldaten verletzt. Sieben jüdische Frauen wurden bewußtlos von Bord getragen. Die bereits in den Zügen untergebrachten Flüchtlinge verweigerten die Annahme der Verpflegung. In größter Erregung beschimpften und bespien sie die britischen Truppen. Erst nach Verhaftung des Hauptorganisators des Widerstandes begaben sich immer mehr Juden von Bord. Um 14.30 Uhr war die Ausschiffung der „Runnymede Park“ beendet.

Pressevertreter, die während der Ausschiffung an Bord gehen durften, berichteten, daß die Juden Konservenbüchsen und Flaschen zur Abwehr benutzten. Außerdem hatten sie Messer und mit Stacheldraht umwickelte Knüppel bereit, kamen aber nicht dazu, sie zu gebrauchen. Auch Frauen und Kinder hätten sich heftig gewehrt. Die Reporter haben nur zwei bis drei Kopfschläge beob-

Exodus-Flüchtlinge erzählen

Erlebnisse unseres Hamburger kj-Korrespondenten am Pier

kj Hamburg, 8. September

Unser Hamburger Korrespondent, der Augenzeuge der Ausschiffung der Exodus-Juden im Hamburger Hafen war, übermittelt uns den folgenden Bericht.

Zum ersten Male in meinem Leben sah ich, daß die Presse leidenschaftlich Partei ergriff. Rund 200 Zeitungsmänner aller westeuropäischen und vieler amerikanischer Länder verfolgen seit Montagmorgen im Hamburger Hafen mit fieberndem Interesse die zwangsweise Ausschiffung der Exodus-Juden. Es ist seitens verantwortlicher britischer Stellen in letzter Minute untersagt worden, zu fotografieren. Das veranlaßte die Vertreter einiger amerikanischer Bildagenturen, deutschen Fotografen, die den Ort genau kennen, unwahrscheinliche Summen für ein einziges Bild zu bieten. 10 000 bis 15 000 RM sollten für eine einzige Aufnahme gezahlt werden. Die nächsten Tage werden zeigen, ob für diesen Preis einer der Kameramänner die Sache gemacht hat. Die Fotografin der „Neuen Zeitung“, München, wurde jedenfalls noch vor Beginn der Aktion beim Eintritt in das Freihafengelände festgenommen, weil sie unberechtigt eine Kleinbildkamera bei sich führte.

Getreu ihrem abgegebenen Gelöbnis wehrten sich die Flüchtlinge mit Händen und Füßen gegen ihre Ausschiffung. Die Journalisten konnten weit genug an den Platz der Ereignisse heran, um genau zu sehen, daß auf Widerspenstige und mitunter auch auf solche, die im Haufen der Widerspenstigen waren, mit Gummiknüppeln und Fäusten geschlagen wurde. Der Steg vom Schiff zum Ländungsschuppen war so schmal, daß die das Schiff Verlassenden im Gänsemarsch oder höchstens zu zweit heruntergehen konnten. Wenn die Reihe ins Stocken kam und wenn einer nicht schnell genug lief, erhielt er

etwas rücksichtslos Stöße und Tritte, so daß er zum Kai eigentlich mehr torkelte als normal ging.

Die Vertreter der Weltpresse verfolgten mit tiefer Anteilnahme, mit Erschütterung, aber auch mit größter Erregung diese Vorgänge. Zwei Vertreter deutscher jüdischer Organisationen, die zusammen mit der Presse Eingang in das Hafengelände gefunden hatten, schlossen sich immer wieder dem Protest derer an, die teilweise aus dem Schiff mehr herausgetragen wurden als gingen. Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß über die Vorfälle im Hamburger Hafen eine weitreichende Diskussion in der Presse der Welt beginnen wird.

Die Presse erhielt später die Erlaubnis, an den Zug heranzugehen und sich mit den Auswanderern zu unterhalten. Diese Unterhaltungen vollzogen sich durch die vergitterten Fenster hindurch. Da es sich in der Hauptsache um osteuropäische Juden, die fast alle durch deutsche Konzentrationslager gingen, handelt, war die Verständigungssprache deutsch. Sie berichteten von ihrem Leidensweg und behaupteten übereinstimmend, daß man ihnen von britischer Seite in Palästina fest zugesichert habe, sie würden nach Zypern gebracht werden. Aber dann sei die Reise zu ihrem Entsetzen nach Frankreich gegangen. Allein in französischen Häfen seien sie gut verpflegt worden. Auf dem Schiff hätten sie hingegen viel zu wenig zu essen erhalten.

Zwei junge Burschen, die ich über das Verhältnis der Juden zu den Arabern in Palästina befragte, gaben an, daß man in den europäischen Zeitungen vergesse, über Einigungsbewegung der beiden Völkerschaften zu berichten. Es gäbe sehr wohl Gewerkschaften, in denen Araber und Juden zusammen organisiert wären.

Nachdem etwa zwei Stunden ausgeladen worden war, kam es zu den ersten Zwischenfällen, die sehr schnell eine erregte Stimmung auslösten.



DPD-Foto

Fahrt hinter Gittern

Drei „Exodus“-Flüchtlinge nach ihrer Ausschiffung in Hamburg im Transportzug, der sie nach Poppendorf bei Lübeck brachte

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329 RS PHILADELPHIA PENN 85 1/55 3

NLT HON ERNEST BEVIN

LONDON= FOREIGN OFFICE
DOWNING ST.

AM GENTILE OF BRITISH ANCESTRY AND FOR YEARS LIVED IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND DEEPLY LOVE ITS PEOPLE STOP THE WORD
OF GOD GENESIS TWELVE VERSE THREE IS STILL TRUE STOP
BRITAINS POLICY TOWARDS JEWS MUST NOT RUN CONTRARY
TO GODS WORD STOP ENLIST YOUR SYMPATHETIC STRONG
CONSIDERATION FOR THESE PEOPLE

Please send your Reply "Via WESTERN UNION" You may telephone us for a messenger

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MEMBER OF
ILLINOIS SOCIETY OF
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

November 1, 1947

Major Clement Atlee,
Prime Minister of Great Britain,
10 Downing Street
London, England

Sir:

Subject: Palestine

The writer never before now wrote to any one in connection with Palestine. I am writing this letter to you as one good Jew to a good Christian to see if some good can be mutually had both by Great Britain and by the Jews thruout the entire world.

The Jews of United States love our country first but we consider Great Britain as second best in this troubled world. As a matter of fact, during the recent war, there were many nationalities in the United States which hoped to see England conquered by Germany and openly acted in such manner calculated to aid Germany defeat Britain. They tried to prevent United States from giving help to England of any kind. We American Jews, however, not only sympathized with England but openly acted in every way calculated to defeat Germany and aid England to survive. We Jews had several reasons for this friendly action toward England, viz: England's fair treatment of its Jewish inhabitants for many years, England's attempt to restore to the Jews of the world their homeland in Palestine, after being exiled from there by the Romans (present day Italians) 1900 years ago and being persecuted, pushed around, chased out and tortured by one country after another during the 1900 years. The Jews all over the world were whole heartedly friendly towards Great Britain for the Balfour declaration and felt that England is the only nation in the world in 1900 years to once and for all assist the Jews to take their rightful place in the world by governing a land of its own, Palestine. Also Jews here felt that Britain was fighting to the death for freedom and democracy. As you well know, the Jews of Europe lost six million persons massacred by Hitler, which is about 85% of the pre war population of the Jews in Europe. This loss is about ten times the loss of its next biggest victim. Surely we Jews had a right to expect that our fellow Jews remaining in Europe would be given decent treatment and be permitted to go to Palestine and settle down there. We Jews in the United States cannot understand England's actions towards the Jews in Palestine who were ready to assist England in every way and who actually did help in whatever way England wanted. We also cannot understand your actions towards the Jews of Europe who were Hitler's victims and who hoped that England would help them after England is saved from defeat. The Jews and the English were on the same side in the war and we hoped to continue forever on the same side and still do want real and lasting friendship with England if only England would reciprocate. You well know that the Arabs do not care at all for England and in fact did nothing to aid you from being conquered by Hitler. The Grand Mufti did all in his power to aid Hitler and defeat England. How can England trust the Arabs now and forget about the Jewish friendliness and assistance?

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#2

I do not believe that your actions relative to the Jews in Palestine and in the displaced persons camps of Europe are deliberately anti Jewish as I and almost all American Jews considered the English generally and the Labor Party in particular as democratic, freedom loving, highly civilized and friendly to Jews. There must be some important reason for your actions which seem to favor the undeserving Arabs and to seriously injure Jews who were and still are very friendly towards England. It is my opinion that England will in the long run gain more from Jewish friendship in Palestine, in United States and thruout the entire world than from the Arabs who merely tolerate foreigners. The Arabs may cause temporary trouble by the Jews getting a measly section of Palestine but they will cause trouble any way on any other grounds in the future to England and other Christian countries. If the Jews were restored to original Palestine, about 50,000 square miles instead of a measly 6,000 miles which is allotted to them by the partition plan, the Jews could build a strong country and armed force which could materially aid England and United States in time of future trouble in the world. The Jews of United States, although only about six million in number, were the balance to swing United States toward Great Britain when Britain was on its knees to Hitler and instead of Mr. Bevin ridiculing our New York City Jews, he should thank them and the rest of United States Jews for having swung the balance in favor of saving England in world war two. As a matter of fact, almost all nationalities in the United States are backing up the Jews on the Palestine affair but we Jews do not want any dispute with England nor we do not want any ill feeling between English and Jews. We certainly prefer real friendship between us for our mutual benefit. It is still not too late for England to again obtain the lasting friendship of the Jews of the world by your doing all within your power to assist the Jews now in regard to Palestine and the miserable, depressed and tortured Jews of Europe now in the rat holes of displacement camps. We Jews of United States and all over the world feel keenly about Palestine and about Jews anywhere in the world just as do English people for each other thruout the world and for their country, king and queen.

Please take the courageous and Christian position and do what is morally decent and right. We humans live only once and then pass on. Let us do some good while we are on this earth and have future generations speak highly of us now living instead of cursing our memories as they will when Hitler's name will be mentioned and other evil doers.

Respectfully yours,

Meyer Rosenberg

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127
C. E. LANNING, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America



UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BUILDING-HIGH STREET AT MILL

Akron 8, Ohio

4

PHONES
FRANKLIN { 6181
6182
6183
6184

November 26th
19 47

R 8/12/47

Prime Minister Atlee
House of Commons
London, England

Greetings:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a resolution adopted by the Twelfth Annual Convention of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, which convention was held in the Hotel Bradford, Boston, Massachusetts, between the dates of September 15 to 20 inclusive.

The convention directed that a copy of this resolution be sent to you for your consideration and information.

Very truly yours,

Charles E. Lanning
Charles E. Lanning,
General Secretary-Treasurer

CEL:rmk
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Encl.

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R E S O L U T I O N

O N

PALESTINE

WHEREAS: Philip Murray and the National CIO recently urged that the President of the United States use his influence with the government of Great Britain to have the gates of Palestine opened for immediate admission of at least 100,000 Jews,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the 12th Annual Convention of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, instruct the secretary to send a copy of this resolution to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and take its stand firmly behind President Murray in asking for immediate action to allow Jews to immigrate to Palestine.

NOTE: The above resolution was adopted by the Twelfth Annual Convention held in the Bradford Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts, between the dates of September 15-20, 1947.

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THXA1890 G156 HAIFA 64 14 1030 HCW/14TH

= NLT MR ERNEST BEVIN FOREIGN MINISTER

LONDON =

REPLY TO YOUR LAST SPEECH IN THE

PARLIAMENT YOUR DEMOCRATIC CONSCIENCE WELL

Enquiry respecting this Telegram should be accompanied by this form. Mark Your Reply VIA IMPERIAL

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BY

CW

CW
ALLOW TO SELL THE JEWISH HOMELAND FOR
A BUNCH OF CAMLES DURING 2000 YEARS A
LITTLE JEWISH MINORITY WAS LIVING ON
THEIR INHERITED SOIL WITHOUT ANY ECONOMIC
ASSURANCE AND HAVE SAFEGUARDED THE JEWISH
CONSTITUTION NAHLAT JISRAEL JESHAI PS 19

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07/09/2016 18:27

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MOUNT CARMEL HAIFA 2000 PS 19 17

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And the District Messenger Company's Offices	

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61793

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FOREIGN MINISTER ERNEST BEVIN

DEAR MINISTER
THE TASK FOR RESCUING PERSECUTED JEWRY (THE MA-
JORITY OF THE JEWS CATHERED THERE, HAVE BEEN
RUNNING AWAY FROM PERSECUTION NOW AND THEN)
LIVING AMONGST FRANTIC SAVAGERY, AS A SOUVENIR
FOR THE WORLD, APPARENTLY RESTS WHOLLY
UPON RUSSIA'S SHOULDERS, AS THERE COULD NOT
BE LAID MUCH STRESS UPON THE TWO OTHER
MAJOR POWERS, AMERICA AND ENGLAND:

AMERICA, WITH ITS INTERESTS IN THE OIL
BUSINESS THERE, AND BECAUSE OF A STRONG
JERK OF THE LEASH BY VATICAN CITY, MAY
IMPEDE OR ENTIRELY CHECK HER FROM SECURING
JEWISH LIFE THERE; ENGLAND, WHO HAVE DONE
EVERYTHING, TO TURN THE FAITH OF THE JEWS IN
THE WORLD'S DECLARATION, THAT PALESTINE
SHALL BECOME AN ASYLUM FOR TORTURED JEWS
TO INSANITY BY THEIR PERSECUTORS EVERYWHERE,
THE BRITISH HAVE TURNED THAT FAITH INTO
A FATEFUL ADVANTURE. (ENGLAND, FOR ABOUT 26
YEARS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CREATE A CONDITION
TO BRING UPON THE JEWS THIS DISASTROUS LOT),
COULD NOT BE DEPENDED ON. THE JEWISH BRAVE
MOLES, ARE NO MATCH FOR THE MILLIONS FRENZIED
MOBSTERS, SUPPORTED BY FRANTIC ORGANIZED
GOVERNMENT, WHO POSSESS MODERN WAR WEAPONS
OR HAVE ENOUGH CASH TO BUY SUCH. THE ISLAMICS
AND MOSLEMICS, WERE ALWAYS POLICED BY THE BRITISH,
WHO CALL THEMSELVES "THE LONE POLICEMAN",
AND ARE THE SORT OF A POLICEMAN, WHO MAKES
HOLD UP JOBS IN THE MEANTIME (THE BRITISH
HELD UP THE PERSECUTED JEWS AND HAVE DE-
TACHED TRANSJORDAN FROM THE BARGAIN, THE JEWS
WERE SUPPOSED TO GET, AND THE BRITISH HAVE
MANEUVERED SO, AS SOME HOLD UP MEN DO, HOLDING
UP THEIR VICTIM, THROWING HIM OUT OF THE
CAR, LEAVE HIM HELPLESSLY BLEED TO DEATH

1	2	3	4	5	6

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134 RUSSIA IS THE ONLY, IF WILLING TO AVAIL HERSELF
 FOR THE POLICEMAN'S BEAT, IN THE MIDST OF
 ISLAMICS AND MOSLEMICS, UNLESS THE U.N. CAN
 ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL ARMY FORTHWITH
 FOR POLICING, AS TIME IS SHORT, IT WAS
 FEARED, THAT FRANCO, AFFILIATING HIMSELVES
 WITH NAZI SCIENTISTS MAY DESTROY THE WORLD,
 THE ISLAMICS AND MOSLEMICS, MULTIPLYING
 FASTER THAN CLAMICS (CLAMS), WITH MUCH MORE
 WEALTH THAN WHAT FRANCO HAS, COULD NOT THEY
 SOMEDAY ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH NAZI
 SCIENTISTS AND MENACE THE WORLD? THERE IS
 ANOTHER REASON, WHY AMERICA COULD NOT BE
 COUNTED ON FOR POLICING THE MIDDLE EAST:
 THERE ARE DRAGS AMONGST THE RULING CLASS
 WHO ARE SPECULATING IN COMMODITIES, EXTORTING
 HIGH PRICES OF THOSE, WHO HAVE VOTED FOR THEM,
 AND THEN, THERE IS AN OLD CRY OF THIEVES
 TO CATCH A THIEF, SO THEY CAN MAKE A
 GETAWAY, AND BY DOING SO THEY CREATE
 A CHAOTIC CONDITION, WHICH IS DESTRUCTIVE
 TO MANAGEMENT

SINCERELY YOURS
 NATHAN RECHLIS
 RT. 2 BOX 22 A
 CLEVELAND LANE
 DETALUMA CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED IN O.B.
 26 DEC 1947
 SENT TO DEPT.

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 Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

		135
1947 129	Palestine EASTERN	E10081 /G 2900
E10081/48/C Mr Beoley New York with Kuntows Dated 23 Oct Received 29 Oct.	Draft paper on Palestine	
Last Paper E10036	(Minutes) See E9933	
References E9696/49/31 E9933/9373/31	Hs-Bent Nov. 5 R. J. Aram 5/21	
(Print)	BAB3 2.11	
(How disposed of)		
(Action completed) 2F 107	(Index) WPH.	
Next Paper		

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UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

TELEPHONE:
LONGACRE 5-2070

TOP SECRET

REPLIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED
P. O. BOX 304
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

23rd October, 1947.

Dear Bernard,

Thank you for your two letters of the 17th and 18th October, the former enclosing a copy of your draft paper on Palestine.

I agree with the whole of this paper except for some reservations on the passage on page 4 about the method of British withdrawal from Palestine. I do not know what are the military and administrative considerations which have led to the conclusion that we should surrender administrative responsibility for the whole country at the same moment. But I am greatly impressed by the arguments advanced in MacGillivray's paper (a copy of which I sent to Peter a few days ago) for withdrawing by stages, and in such a way that an Arab and a Jewish administration would establish themselves in an orderly manner in limited parts of the country before they were brought into collision with one another. It is true that this might lead to partition, but it would be a partition giving the Jews far less territory than they were awarded by the UNSCOP majority. There is another and perhaps more important difference. A partition arrived at by the establishment, through negotiation or armed conflict or a mixture of the two, of a natural equilibrium of forces would be less resented on the Arab side, and probably more durable, than a partition imposed by any external agency.

The issue would not, furthermore, be decisively prejudged by a piecemeal withdrawal. It might lead towards some /

B.A.B. Burrows, Esq.,
Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

136
1082

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Reference: FO 371 / 61793

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This brings me to the subject of the telegram I sent you yesterday. I do not see how anything can come of this overture in present circumstances, but I think the idea of a direct Arab-American negotiation is a valuable one to put into currency for future use. If the political situation in this country was ever such as to make it possible - and a failure on the part of the Assembly is one of the conditions for this - there is little doubt that the Arab Governments and the U.S. Government together could compel a settlement.

Those are the only two lines on which I can see a way forward at present. Certainly our Committee doesn't offer much prospect of advance at the moment. You will have seen that Evatt has insisted without, unfortunately in my view, any protest from us on remitting the partition plan and the Arab plan to two sub-Committees on which there will be no opposition. (John Martin, incidentally, is going to attend *the* at first and I shall sit in the second.) This means that there is no serious chance of improving the Arab plan from the Jewish point of view, while in the other sub-Committee those Delegations which want to improve the UNSCOP plan from the Arab point of view will be swamped by the enthusiasts. This applies particularly to the U.S. Delegation, which may find itself in a very embarrassing position. The Soviet attempt in the main Committee to rush a vote of principle on partition suggests that they have the U.S. Delegation where they want it, and are going to push it as far as they can down the slope on which it has ventured. On re-reading Tsarapkin's first speech, I note that he did not - unlike Herschel Johnson - indicate in which direction he thought territorial changes desirable, but it is perhaps fanciful to wonder whether he may suggest overcoming the furtive anomalies to which he called attention by giving more and not less territory to the Jews.

The Arabs are pleased by Evatt's decision because they are less afraid of an extreme than of a moderate partition plan. Also, when the general debate is resumed, their plan will be on an equal footing with that of the UNSCOP majority.

I can't /

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Yours ever,

Harold.

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Reference: FO 371 / 61793

672

E

E 10090

1947

PALESTINE

29 OCT

139

Registry
Number

E 10090/46/31

FROM

P.O.

No.

Forward

Dated

Received
in Registry

29 Oct

*Syrian troop movement
Refer Damascus tel 85 (E9902/46/31)
Gene means an line that should be
taken by the Palestine Govt with
the Syrian with regard to their troop
movement on the Palestine-Syrian border.*

GO tel 2003 27/10

Last Paper.

10081

(Minutes.)

Time please see E 10121

References.

30/10

Int. P. tel 2547 24/10

See E 10137

JB MW. 4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

12/11/47

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

E 10094

32003 F.O.P

1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference: FO 371/61793					

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14018
enter on

L

E 10090

29 OCT

IMMEDIATE

Addressed to Damascus No. 1480.
Repeated to Secretary of State. (Please pass
to U.K.D.E.L. for Colonial Secretary as
my telegram No. 1481).
" to Baghdad No. 78.
" " Cairo No. 132.
" " Beirut No. 1482.
" " Jeddah No. 35.
" by bag to Amman.

7901/46/31

97.14

British

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Reference:

377

61793

29 OCT 1947

Distributed to:-

1 2 3 4 5 6
 1 2
 Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

INWARD TELEGRAM

142

Distributed to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caine
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Foreign Office

" "
" "
War Office (M.O.4.)
" (M.I.3.)

Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Fitzgerald

Mr. Beith.
Mr. Garrahan.
Mr. Burrows.
Lt. Col. M.M. Charteris.
Major De Lisle.

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Reference:-

FO 371

61793

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18

rw. 143

24 OCT 1947

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM S. OF S. COLONIES.

Sent 22nd October, 1947. 14.15 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 2547 Top Secret.

1	1	1	1	1	Addressed High Commissioner Jerusalem.
2	2	2	2	2	Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York.
3	3	3	3	3	" " H.M. Representative Bagdad.
4	4	4	4	4	" " " " " " Cairo.
5	5	5	5	5	" " " " " " Damascus.
6	6	6	6	6	" " " " " " Beirut.
7	7	7	7	7	" " " " " " Jeddah.
8	8	8	8	8	" " " " " " Amman.

Your telegram No. 1944.

I share your concern lest the presence of Syrian troops on the frontier, coupled with the warlike trumpeting of Arab leaders, may incite extremists inside and outside Palestine. The question of making representations to the Syrian Government has been discussed here with Foreign Office but it is considered that, as His Majesty's representatives in Damascus and Beirut have pointed out, the Syrian Government would almost certainly refuse to withdraw their troops for reasons of prestige, if for none other. Besides maintaining the right to move troops at will within their own territory, the Syrian Government could reply that their actions were only in accordance with the recent decisions of the Arab League and take cover in the corporate responsibility of that body. His Majesty's representative, Damascus, has already made our position quite clear (my telegram No. 2470 refers) and it would seem most undesirable to lay ourselves open to the possibility of a diplomatic rebuff in a matter of this kind.

20/

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1 2

Reference: **FO** 371/61793

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3. As regards the possibility of incursions into Palestine by guerilla bands under Fawzi Qawuqji and others, the Syrian Government of course already know that we are aware of the recruiting campaign and its purpose (Scrivener's letter to Baxter of 20th June refers). So far as we can judge here however, the Mufti and his accomplices do not appear to wish - and indeed would not be allowed by the Syrian Government - to start guerilla warfare while the British Administration and troops were responsible for law and order in Palestine. If any such campaign of violence supported from outside were to flare up we would of course have very strong grounds for immediate protests to the Syrian Government.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for transmission to all posts other than Jerusalem.)

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Reference:-
FO
371 / 61793

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

145

Distributed to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. D. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caine
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Foreign Office
" "
" "

Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Fitzgerald

- Mr. Beith.
- Mr. Garrahan.
- Mr. Burrows.

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61793**

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<p>130 1947</p> <p>E10094/4615</p> <p>S of S Conversation</p> <p>Dated 28 Oct Received 29 Oct.</p>		<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>E10094 / G</p> <p>29 OCT 1947</p>
<p>Last Paper</p> <p>E10081</p>		<p>(Minutes)</p> <p>Ms. Beirut</p> <p>Nov. 4</p> <p>3 Nov.</p> <p>PP</p> <p>24/11</p>	
<p>References</p>		<p>1. C.R.O. circ W 854</p>	
<p>(Print)</p>			
<p>(How disposed of)</p> <p>28 Oct 1947</p> <p>28 Oct.</p>			
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>25/11</p>	<p>(Index)</p> <p>W/4</p>		
<p>Next Paper</p>			

34092

1	2	3	4	5	6
<p>Reference: FO 371/61793</p>					

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147

32. General Ismay.
33. First Sea Lord.
34. Director of Naval Intelligence.
35. Chief of Imperial General Staff.
36. Director of Military Intelligence.*
37. Chief of Air Staff.
38. Director of Intelligence (Air Ministry).
39. Minister of Information.
- 40.
- 41.
- 42.
- 43.
- 44.
- 45.
- 46.
- 47.
- 48.
- 49.
- 50.

* Under cover to M.I. 17 (b) for D.M.I., Room 279, War Office

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		1		2	

Reference:-

FO 371 / 61793

Copy No. 8

8

148

(No. 1929)
My Lord,

*Foreign Office,
28th October, 1947*

be responsible for law and order, immigration, or any of these matters, and therefore in the clearing up of our military position we should be out of the way of the civil power. I informed Mr. Douglas that I would have to consult the Chiefs of Staff and my colleagues in the Cabinet as to whether this withdrawal could be completed within the time mentioned by him, assuming that agreement was reached between Jews and Arabs.

4. The Ambassador then asked me whether it was possible for the United States and Great Britain to arrive at an agreement as to what solution should be submitted to the United Nations. I told him that we could not do that. We had endeavoured to settle this problem with the Jews and Arabs over a period of many years. We had tried partition, cantonisation and indeed had endeavoured to establish a unitary State. All our efforts had failed. Our position was, therefore, that we would place at the disposal of the United Nations all our experience in this field, but beyond this we could not go. The United Nations, with such experience before them, must come to their decision.

5. Mr. Douglas then asked me whether we could play any part with our troops while any decision of the United Nations was being carried out. I told him "No." I said that, if there was no agreement, our policy was to withdraw from Palestine. I pointed out to the Ambassador that what had prevented a settlement in Palestine had, after all, been the money from

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America which financed illegal immigration. This, together with the attitude of the White House, had produced in the minds of the Jews an intransigent mood, and on the part of the Arabs a mood of great hostility, with the result that reconciliation during the last few years had been made impossible. In addition, there was at this present moment a threat of bringing from Eastern Europe 13,000 or 14,000 illegal immigrants who would have

to be housed on British territory. All this was due to money and influence of United States nationals. In the light of all this it was impossible for Britain to continue to play the ignominious rôle that we had been compelled to play since the close of the war. Mr. Douglas undertook to communicate this to his Government.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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Registry
No.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft. DESPATCH.

H.M. Ambassador,
WASHINGTON.

No.....

Print:

As for
Diplomatic Secret.

and

Copies to:

P.S. TO S/S
FOR COLONIES.

COL. REES-
WILLIAMS (C.O.)

CHANCELLOR OF
EXCHEQUER.

MINISTER OF
DEFENCE.

SECRET.

My Lord,

The American Ambassador came to see me to-day and raised the question of Palestine. He submitted to me suggestions on the question of affecting a settlement, and to that end endeavoured to ascertain what the British position would be. The first was, whether assuming the United Nations adopted the Report on Partition, and the Arabs and Jews agreed, we would agree to the appointment of a United Nations Commission, with a High Commissioner, to carry out the settlement of the boundaries and to determine the transfer of power and the Administration to the respective States, and whether we would agree to shorten the period of transition to July, 1948. I replied that if the Jews and Arabs agreed and such agreement received the support of the United Nations, I saw no difficulty about coming to an arrangement for the transfer of power. In fact, I doubted whether there would be any need for a United Nations Commission, other than for the fixing of boundaries, because Great Britain had had vast experience in the transfer of power and if there was agreement between the Jews and the Arabs, then it seemed to me that the matter would be simple, and we would endeavour to place our experience at the disposal of the two parties or the United Nations, as the case might be.

2./

E10094

29 OCT 1947

28th October, 1947.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61793

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

-2-

151

2. As to the period of transition in the transferring of power, I told the Ambassador that I saw little difficulty, but I must enter this caveat: ^{owing to our position} ~~we had been a~~ ^{as the} Mandatory Power ~~and~~ there were therefore questions of compensation, the transfer of assets, protection of interests of both international companies and private concerns, and the further question of the withdrawal of our communication mechanism and troops. Whether we could undertake this withdrawal by the date mentioned was a matter which would have to be considered. The point, however, was that I assumed that under the arrangements the American Ambassador had in mind, we should not be responsible for law and order, immigration, or any of these matters and therefore in the clearing up of our military position we should be out of the way of the civil power. I informed Mr. Douglas that I would have to consult ^{of} the Chiefs ~~and~~ Staff and my colleagues in the Cabinet as to whether this withdrawal could be completed within the time mentioned by him, assuming that agreement was reached between Jews and Arabs.

3. Mr. Douglas then asked me what part Great Britain was willing to play, assuming that no agreement was reached between Jews and Arabs, and the United Nations decided on partition. I replied that on that point our position was reserved until we saw what the decision of the United Nations was. We should have to consider our whole

attitude/

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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attitude in the light of that decision, but I could not commit H.M.G. on any step they might take under those circumstances.

4. The Ambassador then asked me whether it was possible for the United States and Great Britain to arrive at an agreement as to what solution should be submitted to the United Nations. I told him that we could not do that. We had endeavoured to settle this problem with the Jews and Arabs over a period of many years. We had tried partition, cantonization and indeed had endeavoured to establish a unitary state. All our efforts had failed. Our position was, therefore, that we would place at the disposal of the United Nations all our experience in this field, but beyond this we could not go. The United Nations, with such experience before them, must come to their decision.

5. Mr. Douglas then asked me whether we could play any part with our troops while any decision of the United Nations was being carried out. I told him "No". I said that if there was no agreement, our policy was to withdraw from Palestine. I pointed out to the Ambassador that what had prevented a settlement in Palestine had, after all, been the money from America which financed illegal immigration. This, together with the attitude of the White House, had produced in the minds of the Jews an intransigent mood, and on the part of the Arabs a mood of great hostility, with the result/

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

Under-Secretary of State

NOV 1947

Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office

This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher (typex) message and the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.

F.2781/
CYPHER (TYPEX)

O.D.

TO: CANADA (GOVT)
NEW ZEALAND "
AUSTRALIA "
SOUTH AFRICA "

F10094 46/S

6 NOV 1947

(Sent 1.20.p.m. 3rd November, 1947)

D No.854 SECRET

PALESTINE : U.S. PROPOSAL FOR 1st JULY 1948 AS PARTITION
DATE FOR PALESTINE.

In this connection U.S. Ambassador had interview with Foreign Secretary last week. Mr. Douglas asked whether, on assumption that U.N. recommended partition and Arabs and Jews agreed, H.M.G. in U.K. would agree to appointment of U.N. Commission, with High Commissioner, to carry out settlement of boundaries and to determine means of transferring power and administration to respective States. He also asked whether he would agree to shorten period of transition to July 1948.

2. Mr. Bevin replied that if Jews and Arabs agreed, and if their agreement was supported by U.N., he saw no (repeat no) difficulty about arranging for transfer of power. He doubted whether U.N. Commission was needed except for boundary

delimitation and he said that U.K. Government would endeavour to place their experience at disposal of the two parties or U.N. Mr. Bevin said that although he saw little difficulty about period of transition in transferring power, question whether we could undertake withdrawal by July 1948 would need consideration in light of such factors as compensation, transfer of assets, protection of companies and withdrawal of communication mechanism and troops. Mr. Bevin said that he was assuming that U.K. Government would not (rpt not) be held responsible for

/law

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61793

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law and order, immigration etc. under plan mentioned by Mr. Douglas, so that military position could be cleared up independently of civil power.

Copy to :

Foreign Office
Mr P.T.H. Ashton Gwatkin
Mr J.P.G. Finch (4)
Mr. J.G.S. Beith



673

E

E 10096

30 OCT

156

PALESTINE

Syria - Political Frontier Incident.

After Damascus tel 464 (E49974/46/31) fully agrees that no need exists so far as Syrian defence is concerned for the present augmented Syrian forces on the frontier. The pointed line out to Syrian front part of recent incident has been uncertainty regarding actual frontier line.

ADDRESSED JERUSALEM 92.

Registry
Number

E10096/46/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

M. Dundas

Dated

Damascus

Received
in Registry

475

28 Oct

20 -

Last Paper.

10094

References.

(Minutes.)

Now please see E 10121

30/10

In P.P. P. it is tel 1990 25/10

JB NOV. 19

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. ~~Whitman~~ C.O.

M.1.3a

M.O.4

Adm. 1/1

A.M.

Oct-30

(on E10097/49/31)

(Action
completed.)

J. E. 10/29/11

(Index.)

J. E. 10/29/11

Next Paper.

10105

Wt. 24772/717 17895 10/38 F.O.P.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:-

FO

371

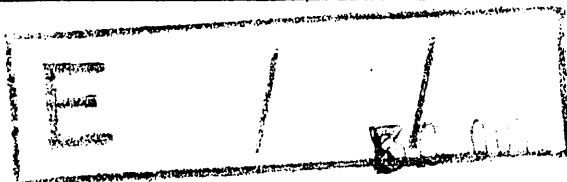
61793

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

Cypher (O.T.P.)



157

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 25th October, 1947.

R. 25th " " 14.40 hrs.

No. 1990 Confidential.

Addressed to Charge d'Affaires Damascus, No. 1470.

Repeated to S. of S.

" " Beirut, No. 1467.

Your telegram No. 86 addressed to the Foreign Office No. 464.

Frontier control in Palestine is a police responsibility and there is already close and friendly contact between the two Police Forces in this matter. While there may well be advantage in such a relationship developing naturally between the two military forces on the border, I do not think this need be mentioned in any informal approach to the Syrian Minister of Defence. In fact, I consider that he should be told that we cannot accept that there is any need for increased military strength on the Syrian side of the frontier, which I must emphasise again is a British one for as long as we are in control in Palestine.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office

" "

War Office (M.O.4)

" " (M.I.3a)

- Mr. Burrows

- Mr. Garran

- Mr. Beith

- Col. M.M. Charteris

- Major de Lisle

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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SECRET

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM DAMASCUS TO JERUSALEM.

D. 4.28 p.m. 28th October 1947

R. 5.41 p.m. 28th October 1947.

28th October 1947

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 475
Beirut

My telegram No. 464 to Foreign Office and your telegram No. 1470.

I fully agree that no need exists so far as Syrian defence is concerned for the present augmented Syrian forces on the frontier and I have pointed out this more than once to the Syrian Government. I did not intend to suggest that cooperation with the Syrian army would in fact increase efficiency of frontier control over which is a police responsibility. As seen from here, however the root cause of recent incidents has been uncertainty regarding actual frontier line and inexperience of Syrian army units who have been used to stiffen any police posts on the frontier and are not under police control.

2. While Syrians are unlikely for political reasons openly to withdraw their forces from South Syria it is possible that a policy of liaison at a low level between British and Syrian army units would not only reduce the risk of incidents but also afford Syrians a suitable excuse to thin-out their men in the immediate neighbourhood. But there is valuable chance on the Syrian side of "relations developing naturally between the two military forces on the border" without the official blessing of Syrian Minister of Defence who is, I know, greatly concerned at the possibility of further trouble between British and Syrian security forces.

Repeated to Beirut as my telegram No. 37.

V V V

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118 JET BRUCE

FO 371 / 61793

674

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B9

1947

PALESTINE

E10105

30 OCT

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E10105/46/31.

L. J. Lloyd

Colonial Office

25 Oct

30 -

Return to Political of Territories.

R/W (E9536/46/31) transmits copy of letter
from L. J. Lloyd to U.S. Mission of 25 Oct
no 76439/47 PAH, regarding the return to
Political of British women and children who
were recently evacuated.

Last Paper.

10096

(Minutes.)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

[Signature]
(J.R. CABLE)

30/10

[Signature]
Oct. 30

[Signature]
V. 34/x

(Action
completed.)

[Signature]
9/11/47

(Index.)

[Signature]
9/11/47

Next Paper.

E10128

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61793

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COLONIAL OFFICE,

DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

160 E

E 10105

30 OCT

With Sir Thomas Lloyd's compliments.

25th October, 1947.

1	2	3	4	5	6
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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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25th October, 1947.

Alto

We had of course not overlooked the fact that the return of these families would add to our commitments in the event of withdrawal of the British administration from Palestine. On the other hand there is a definite obligation to honour the undertaking given at the time of their evacuation that arrangements would be made for their return as soon as the security situation permitted and it was for that reason that the decision to authorise their return was taken notwithstanding the fact that the possibility of withdrawal from Palestine had already presented itself.

W. G. Weston, Esq., C. E. G.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
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Reference: FO 371 61793					

to the prospective withdrawal may be clearer. If it then transpires that the period still before us in Palestine is in our opinion such as to warrant it, we feel that we should have to press strongly for the immediate provision of shipping accommodation to enable us to honour the obligation which I have mentioned.

I have sent copies of this letter to Hall-Patch, Foreign Office, and to Patrick, Commonwealth Relations Office.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) T.I.K.Lloyd.

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<div style="text-align: right;">1947</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> 131 E101281461C New York 3083 dated 28 OCT Received 30 OCT. </div> <div> Palestine EASTERN </div> <div> E10128 /G 30 OCT 1947 </div> </div> </div>	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> Last Paper. E10094 References. E10034/46/C. E9480/95/31 </div> <div> (Minutes.) N.A. Dept. <i>2/10</i> Northern Dept. <i>clear 5/10</i> </div> <div> <div style="text-align: right;"> <i>[Signature]</i> (J.E. CABLE) 30/10 </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> <i>[Signature]</i> Oct. 30 </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> <i>[Signature]</i> 3/10 </div> </div> </div>	
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Reference:
FO
371 / 61793

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		13	
132 31		Palestine EASTERN	E10129 /G
E10129/46/G F.O. Min Mr Burrows dated 25 00 Received 30 00.		Partition plan: Alleged Statement by Colonial Secretary	
Last Paper E10128		(Minutes) [Signature] (J.E. CARR) 30/10 Bort. 31	
References			
(Print)			
(How disposed of) [Signature] Mr Bealey New York from Mr Burrows 25 00.			
(Action completed) [Signature]	(Index) [Signature]		
Next Paper			

34092

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Reference:					
FO 371/61793					

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E *enter 166*
2761 100 02
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.,
25th October, 1947.

PERSONAL

Dear Harold,

No doubt due to my ignorance of past history, I find it rather difficult to believe that the Colonial Secretary has not been misquoted in the paragraph in the middle of page 5 of the record of the twenty-second meeting of the U.K. Delegation on October 15th, where he is alleged to have said that the partition plan would amount to much the same as the Bevin-Morrison plan and that the result would probably work out in a way very much in keeping with H.M.G.'s ideas.

Apart from anything else, such a view would seem to overlook the crucial fact that, under the partition plan, the Jewish State would have complete independence as regards the admission of immigrants.

Can you elucidate?

(Signed) B.A.B. Burrows.

H. Beeley, Esq., C.B.E.,
U.K. Delegation,
New York.

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REF ID: A66084

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

D. 2.30 p.m. 27th October, 1947.

R.8.50 p.m. 27th October, 1947.

Repeated to: Washington

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

LIGHT

Following for Secretary of State from Minister of State.

Palatine.

Hillaring informed me this morning of the lines on which Douglas has been instructed to speak to you.

2. The United States proposal he said is now that there shall be an outright partition of Palestine, the two States becoming independent on the 1st July, 1948. Meanwhile there would be a United Nations Commission to supervise the transition assisted apparently by British troops. The Americans are not committed to the particular form of partition recommended by the U.N.S.C.O.P. majority. I gathered that they hoped we should be able to keep troops in Palestine even after the 1st July, 1948.

3. They anticipate Russian dissent from those proposals and are anxious to reach some understanding with us before they again intervene in the discussion on Sub-Committee 1 of the Palestine Committee. They will try not to make a move there before Wednesday.

4. They are continuing with the idea of a volunteer police force but I am not sure that they visualise the force operating before July 1st.

5. I also imagine that they have already spoken to the Jews.

6. They stress that they would postpone their plan if there was any indication of Jewish-Arab talks; and that also they are anxious for our continued co-operation.

Abstract

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Reference:-

FO 371/61793

En clair

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 2983

D. 10.23 p.m. October 18th, 1947.

October 18th, 1947. R. 9.59 a.m. October 19th, 1947.

Repeated to High Commissioner Jerusalem and Saving Washington.

Please pass to Colonial Office.

Following is a summary of the 15 formal resolutions which have so far been submitted to the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian question and on which discussion will begin next week. Full texts of all these resolutions have been sent by air bag.

1. Colombia. Calling upon the peoples of Palestine to bring acts of violence to an early end.

2. El Salvador calling upon the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee to appoint three representatives each to meet in conference to find common grounds of agreement and to report to the General Assembly the results of the meeting - the recommendations in the report to contain adequate safeguards for religious interests.

3. United Kingdom recommending that each member of the United Nations adopt urgent measures for settling a fair share of displaced persons and refugees in its country, inform the Secretary General of the results of the consideration given to receiving in conformity with the principles of the I.R.O. its fair share of non repatriable persons, and join through the I.R.O. in the development of overall plans.

4. Yugoslavia recommending that Jewish refugees now in Cyprus camps shall be admitted to Palestine immediately.

5. Uruguay that immediate entry be granted into Palestine to 30,000 Jewish children their mothers and fathers and pregnant women at present in displaced persons camps and in Cyprus and other places of detention or assembly.

6. Lebanon recommending that the Governments of Member States refrain and prohibit nationals from giving assistance in any form to immigrants destined for Palestine.

7. Iraq to refer the following legal point to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion under Article 96 of the Charter.

"Did not the pledges given by Great Britain to the Sherref Hussein of Mecca and her subsequent declarations promises and assurances to the Arabs that in the event of Allied victory the Arab countries would obtain their independence include Palestine and its inhabitants?"

8. Egypt.

(1) To refer to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion the questions as to

/whether

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whether (a) it lies within the competence of the General Assembly to recommend any of the two solutions proposed by the majority or by the minority of U.N.S.C.O.P. and (b) it lies within the rights of any Member States or group of Member States to implement any of the proposed solutions without the consent of the people of Palestine.

(2) Upon receipt of the Courts opinion the General Assembly to resume its examination of this phase of the Palestine question.

9. Syria recommends that the United Kingdom prepare an agreement under Article 79 of the Charter and submit it for approval to the General Assembly authorising Great Britain, as administering authority, to complete her task in Palestine during the transition period between the termination of the mandate and the transfer of power to the new Government of Palestine - this agreement to contain provision for the establishment of a sovereign State for the whole of Palestine on a democratic basis and for the election of Constituent Assembly and the enactment of a constitution on the lines of the now familiar Arab plan.

10. Netherlands: the Committee closely to co-ordinate its efforts to draft (a) proposals for a fair and practicable solution of the Palestine question as far as possible acceptable to both parties involved (b) recommendations for the adequate and effective implementation of this solution and (c) recommendations for an early solution of the problem of Jewish refugees and displaced persons.

11. United States and Sweden:

To accept the basic principles of the unanimous recommendations and the majority plan of the special committee on Palestine as a basis for its recommendations concerning the future Government of Palestine.

12. United States:

To establish a Sub Committee

(1) To draw up a detailed plan for the future Government of Palestine in accordance with the basic principles of the unanimous recommendations and the majority plan

(2) To incorporate this plan in the form of recommendations and

(3) To transmit these recommendations to the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian question not later than 27th October.

13. Canada:

To add the following to the terms of reference of the Sub Committee proposed in the United States resolution at 12 above. "To consider the exercise of administrative responsibility in Palestine during the transitional period, including the possibility of the application of Chapter XII

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Reference:-

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of the Charter" and "to consider methods by which the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian question would be put into effect".

14. Uruguay

(a) That the Ad Hoc Committee adopt as a basis for discussion the majority report of the Special Committee on Palestine

(b) That proposals may be submitted or amendments proposed on questions of substance throughout the period for which the matter is under consideration by the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Uruguay resolution also contains proposals for modification of the boundaries recommended in the majority report for the setting up of a sub committee to study the plan for economic union, this sub committee to have the co-operation of the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee in its work and for transfer by the mandatory Power to the United Nations of the administration of Palestine during the transitional period, the United Nations to exercise its authority through a provisional council consisting of five members, three appointed by the General Assembly from citizens of Member States and two to be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee.

15. Guatemala: to recommend that the General Assembly approve the majority plan, subject to amendments providing for

(1) termination of the transitional period not later than 1st September 1949 - either of the States to have the right within this period to request its independence if it can prove that it has complied with the conditions stated in paragraph 2 of recommendation (a) in Chapter VI of the U.N.S.C.O.P. report.

(2) the replacement of the mandatory power by the United Nations as administering authority during the transition period, the authority to be exercised through a body of three delegates elected by the General Assembly from nationals of States members other than the five permanent members of the Security Council

(3) the setting up of an international police force to ensure order during the transitional period, this force to be composed of military contingents from States Members other than permanent members of the Security Council the contingents to be composed preferably of volunteers but until such are available to be drawn from the regular forces of the States members

(4) the numbers and composition of this force to be fixed by the administering delegates

(5) the cost of the force to be borne by the five permanent members of the Security Council

(6) the States Members of the United Nations to

/take

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Class *371*

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E 10143

572

1947

PALESTINE

31 OCT

Registry
Number

E 10143/46/31

FROM

C. Waley Cohen

No.

L. M. Benin

Dated

Received
in Registry

24 Oct

31

Palastine Situation

*Resumes Situation. Proposes that
to should go to Palestine. to secure a
inspection of hostilities.*

Last Paper.

10136

(Minutes.)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

18

*Draft reply to
Gerald B.O.
for Commence.
with M. Benin's Camp.
1st Nov.*

*Off. B. Waley Cohen
from M. Benin.
Nov. 8*

(Action
completed.)

G. B. 11/11

(Index.)

11/11/48

Next Paper.

10148

32003 F.O.P

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(13555) Wt. 49698-114 200m 2/47 G.S.St. Gp. 620

Registry
No.

~~Top Secret.~~
~~Secret.~~
~~Confidential.~~
~~Restricted.~~
~~Open.~~

Draft.

Mr C. Waley
Cohen

From Private
Sec.

~~Answered~~
~~Corro.~~

Copy Co. for
Consequence
First

Oct. 30.
(my comp. to
Mr Fitzgerald)

31 pm
1 blue copy in off form
+ 1 flimsie.
173

Dear Mr Waley Cohen,
The Secretary of
State has asked me to
acknowledge the receipt
of your letter of Oct. 24th
suggesting that you should
go to Palestine and
secure a "cessation of
hostilities".

Mr Bevin has noted
the contents of your
letter with interest but
does

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does not feel able to avail
himself of your suggestion.

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FO 371 / 61793

STATION. BARNHAM S.R.

TEL. EASTERGATE 23

E 101 43

31 OCT

Dear Mr Bevin

Dear Mr Bevin

I hope you will not think it an impertinence for me to trouble you with this letter.

My object in writing is to put before you the conviction that I have held since 1944 that the deplorable position in Palestine is not one for which the Jews in Palestine or elsewhere are entirely responsible.

entirely responsible. I do not trouble you with the details , but I warned Lord Moyne in 1944 of what was brewing and the only way of preventing it, and I feel that even now something might be done.

and I feel that even now something might be done.
I thought of writing to you before but I felt that it would be
waste of your time because you would not listen to me.

The fact is that for some reason that I do not know the Jewish assistance to the Allied Forces has been sedulously concealed and quite erroneous stories of Arab loyalty put about.

and quite erroneous stories of Arab loyalty put about. The laughter with which your remark on this subject was received at the Eighth Army Rally may have enlightened you.

at the Eighth Army Rally may have enlightened you. The fact is that apart from Glubb's 600, on the whole the Arab forces acting under the influence of the Mufti were hostile. In particular after the first capture of Benghazi, the Arab port labour entirely disappeared, much hampering our unloading of supplies.

I am quite willing to go out and try and get some modus vivendi which will mean a cessation of hostilities.

I should contact some of those I rescued from Germany.

I do not trouble you with more. But I would willingly of course come to London at any time to explain what I have in mind.

If however you reply "No", then it would be waste of your valuable time to write any more.

In sincerely
Chas. F. Johnson

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

E 10143/46/31

Draft. Mr. C. Waley
Cohen

address within.

From Private
Secretary

Fair draft

Co. concur

CMCA 5/11.
Private Sec.
first

AB Nov. 3

RA
✓ 4/11

RECEIVED IN DIVISION	
6 NOV 1947	
SE. TO 1947	6/11
DESPATCHED	8/11

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

8/10/47
~~October~~, 1947.

Dear Mr. Waley Cohen,

The Secretary of State has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 24th October suggesting that you should go to Palestine and secure a "cessation of hostilities."

Mr. Bevin has noted the contents of your letter with interest but does not feel able to avail himself of your suggestion.

RG
✓ 5/11

(Sgd.) R. D. C. McAlpine

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Reference: **FO** 371/61793

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.

8th November, 1947.

(E 10143/46/31)

Dear Mr. Waley Cohen,

The Secretary of State has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 24th October suggesting that you should go to Palestine and secure a "cessation of hostilities."

Mr. Bevin has noted the contents of your letter with interest but does not feel able to avail himself of your suggestion.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) R.D.C. McAlpine.

C. Waley Cohen Esq.,
Nyton,
Aldingbourne,
Near Chichester.

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***delete as necessary**

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<p>1947</p> <p>134 31</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>E10178 /G</p> <p>31 OCT 1947</p>
<p>E10178/46/C</p> <p>Amman</p> <p>322</p> <p>Dated 29 Oct</p> <p>Received 31 Oct.</p>	<p>Palestine: Nuri Pasha's plans for conciliation</p>	
<p>Last Paper.</p> <p>E10136</p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p>	
<p>References.</p> <p>E9908/46/C</p> <p>E2452/95/31</p>	<p>As this refers to a rather confidential letter (E2452) which has not been circulated I have had any distribution of this tel. held up. I think it will be best not to distribute it, as we should only have requests for the reference ^{of Nov. 12} which we could not meet.</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of.)</p> <p>Being copied.</p>		
<p>(Action completed.)</p> <p>25 4/11</p>	<p>(Index.)</p> <p>Wpt.</p>	<p>The S/S has always thought that the Nuri Scheme was a very doubtful starter.</p>
<p>Next Paper.</p>	<p>J.S. Beint</p> <p>Nov. 1</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i></p> <p>25 4/11</p>	

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Cypher/OTP

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179
DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Kirkbride
No. 322

D. 9.00 a.m. 30th October 1947
R. 10.20 a.m. 30th October 1947

29th October 1947

TOP SECRET
PERSONAL

For Burrows from Kirkbride.

Your telegram No. 468. ^{RDG} N.Y 3018.

I have known Nuri Said for 30 years and the fact that his scheme focuses light on the Saudis and leaves the Hashimites out of the picture makes me doubt his sincerity. This may be a plot of the nature described in [gp. omitted] No. S/852/46 March 12th to Mr. Baxter.

[Copy sent to Mr. Burrows]

ccc

RECEIVED

1 OCT 1947

30 OCT 1947

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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No. 322

For [grp.omitted] please read "my letter".

31st October 1947.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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181
DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Kirkbride
No. 882

D. 9.00 a.m. 30th October 1947
R. 10.20 a.m. 30th October 1947

29th October 1947

TOP SECRET
PERSONAL

For Burrows from Kirkbride.

Your telegram No. 468.

I have known Nuri Said for 30 years and the fact that his scheme focuses light on the Saudis and leaves the Hashimites out of the picture makes me doubt his sincerity. This may be a plot of the nature described in [gp. omitted] No. S/852/46 March 12th to Mr. Baxter.

[Copy sent to Mr. Burrows]

ccc

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FO 371/61793

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Green

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ADDITIONAL SLIP

DEPARTMENTAL No. 1

FROM AIRMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 322

29th October 1947.

For [grp.omitted] please read "my letter".

COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT.

31st October 1947.

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Reference:

FO

371

61793

1947

Palestine
EASTERN

E1019Y /G
31 OCT 1947

135 31
E1019Y/46/C

New York
3128

Dated 30 Oct
Received 31 Oct

Palestine Sub-committee No 1
of 30 Oct: U.S. policy

Last Paper.

E10136

References.

E10034/46/C
E9952/46/C

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Ted New York 3737
1 Nov.
RMS W'ion 11347
detached
Rag 000 948
Rei 001 675
Damascus 557
Medda 448
Amman 448
Cairo 2029
✓ BHEO 800

(Action
completed.)

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(Index.)

W. J.

Next Paper.

(Minutes.)

See out tel. no. 3737

JB MV. 3

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CABINET DISTRIBUTION

3114

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

D. 9.38.p.m. 30th October, 1947.

R. 5.25. a.m. 31st October, 1947.

Repeated to: Washington,
Jerusalem.

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

Following for Foreign Secretary from Creech Jones.

Herschel Johnson called on Minister of State and myself to-day to discuss position resulting from your interview with Douglas and to inform us of line which United States Delegation will take in Palestine Sub-Committee 1 tomorrow.

2. He described the United States proposals (which they will lay before the Sub-Committee tomorrow) on lines indicated by Douglas at his interview with you i.e. "telescoping" of process of partition involving establishment of Jewish and Arab states on 1st July 1948, withdrawal of United Kingdom administration and forces by that date and meanwhile appointment of small "high-power" United Nations commission to determine final boundaries and to supervise and assist in arrangements for transfer of functions etc. to the new states. He explained that United Nations commission might remain in Palestine after 1st July for a brief period if its continued assistance to the new states was required.

3. I referred to the requirement under the U.N.S.C.O.P. plan for the constitution of an economic board for the whole of Palestine and to the difficulties which would arise in the maintenance of common services throughout Palestine if, as seemed possible, the Arabs at first refused to co-operate and disorders ensued in the Arab areas. I asked if it was contemplated that the Economic Board should have any security or policing forces at its disposal to look after its assets in the Arab zone if the Arabs themselves supplied no protection. Johnson assumed that both the Arab and the Jewish states would provide the police and security arrangements necessary for good order in their respective zones: it was not intended that there should be any central force. I expressed some scepticism as to the adequacy of this arrangement. In reply to a question by Johnson as to Arab reactions I said that I doubted if there would be intervention by regular forces on any scale particularly from Egypt or Saudi-Arabia but that I thought that there would be assistance on a considerable scale to Arab guerrilla bands in Palestine and that the task of maintaining order would be one of great difficulty. Johnson recognised that a risk was being taken but expressed the hope that faced with the alternative the Arabs might still be brought to

/agreement.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 2

Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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agreement. He seemed to endorse my general appreciation as regards improbability of any considerable intervention by outside Arab state forces although I think he was impressed by my view that there would be a strong Arab reaction of violence. Minister of State said that he also was frankly pessimistic and indicated that we must face the probability of a vigorous Arab reaction.

4. It was pointed out that difficulties would not start on 1st July but that as soon as approval of the scheme by United Nations was announced the British troops in Palestine might possibly be faced with very serious disorders on a scale which (on basis of estimates previously given by our military advisers) might call for reinforcements - and that at time when, under the plan, we should be in the process of withdrawal. I recalled our experiences in the disorders following 1936 and Minister of State said that our position in the Middle East was weaker to-day than it had been then.

5. Johnson indicated that he had no knowledge of what Russian attitude to United States proposal would be but he had discussed it briefly with Canadians, South Africans and Swedes who were all in general agreement. He pointed out that it possessed the advantage that it avoided raising the question of military contingents from other members of United Nations, from which difficulty with the Russians might arise. He also made it clear that under this plan the earlier American proposal of an internationally recruited police force was withdrawn. In this connexion we referred to indications that U.S.S.R. proposed to insist that any enforcement measures should be under control of Security Council.

6. We made it clear that attitude of His Majesty's Government remained unchanged. Both the Minister of State and I said that there could be no question of any favourable response to a request that British forces should remain in Palestine after the date of partition. Our position regarding any United Nations policy and its enforcement was a matter for Cabinet decision and in accordance with the statements I had already made on this point. We should not be prepared to consider contributing forces either alone or in a major role. I told Johnson that I saw no reason why he should not put forward the United States proposal in the Sub-Committee tomorrow and said I thought that it would be useful to have it ventilated there, particularly in order to discover the Russian reaction.

7. Line of United Kingdom representative on the Committee if questioned regarding United States plan will be that it would not be appropriate for the United Kingdom to offer any comments at this stage. They have submitted the problem to the United Nations and they must await United Nations verdict before determining what part if any they can play in assisting in carrying out any plan which emerges.

Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem as my telegram No.131.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

@@@

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

Registry

No. E10194/46/9

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

B. A. B. B.

Draft.

U.K. Delegation,
New York.

Telegram.

No.

(Date)

Repeat to:—

Washington

Jerusalem

Bagdad

Beirut

Damascus

Jedda

Ammen

Cairo

BM 80

XXXXXX

XXXXXX

Cypher.

Distribution:—

World Organisation

Co. Concur

Copies to:

RECEIVED IN C.B.

3 NOV 1947

SENT TO DEPT.

F. O.,

11 October 1947.

Despatched

M.

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Your telegram No. 3128 [of October
30th: Palestine].

Following for Colonial Secretary from
Foreign Secretary.

You will have seen that Beirut telegram
No. 783 reinforces point made in your
paragraph 4 about serious difficulties which
will arise in Palestine immediately the U.N.O.
decision is announced. Our whole object is
to free ourselves at the earliest possible
moment from the obligation to repress
disturbances of this kind and it is for this
reason amongst others that it is out of
the question for us to express readiness to
retain either our troops or our administration
in Palestine longer than is absolutely
necessary from considerations of the
practical requirements of our withdrawal
programme. If there is no Jew-Arab
agreement, we shall withdraw both our
administration and our troops in the shortest
possible time in which this can physically be
done. We cannot possibly accept any deadline
dictated from outside and based on other
considerations. If we were to accept the
American proposal, we should find ourselves
bound to stay in Palestine and maintain law
and/

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1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61793

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and order until July 1st. This would be tantamount to enforcing partition by ourselves alone and would inevitably make havoc of our withdrawal programme. I am sure you will leave the Americans and other delegations in no doubt of our attitude on this point.

2. If there is any tendency to suggest that no progress can be made as regards implementation arrangements until we announce dates, I suggest that the line to take in reply is that ~~the job of the sub-committees on this point~~ should be to advise on the creation of an alternative authority to take over from us in the event of an unagreed settlement being enforced and on the length of time for which ~~such an administration would exist.~~ We should then naturally be willing to discuss the question of our hand-over to a transitional administration, ~~on the clear understanding, however, that our withdrawal would not thereby be delayed beyond the earliest date on which it could otherwise be completed.~~ For your own information, while we cannot hope for some time to announce the date of the completion of our withdrawal, I would hope that, if the Assembly fail to reach an agreed settlement, we could immediately announce a date ~~for the beginning of our withdrawal which would probably follow after a short interval.~~ It would ~~in any case seem undesirable now to announce either date on the assumption of failure, as this might prejudice such slight chances of agreement as may still exist.~~

3. I am glad to see from your telegram

No. /

*if the settlement has
be enforced against
either party then it
for the sub-cttee is
forward methods of
implementation.*

*to be the committee
taken when demands
and we know
pretty clearly
what the Assembly
is likely to be*

*When the cttee have
taken their decision
and we know
pretty clearly
what the Assembly
is likely to be*

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Reference: **FO 371** / **61793**

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No. 3117 that the Americans have at last taken a rather more realistic line about boundaries in sub-committee I. It has hitherto appeared that the results of this sub-committee's work had been to increase rather than decrease the gap between the two parties.

4. Since the above was drafted I have seen the ~~reports of extensive publicity~~ given by the Americans to their proposals. In view of this it is most important that we should not become publicly involved in any discussions with the Americans on their proposals. Otherwise we shall be thought to be ganging up with them and to be willing to sacrifice our Palestine policy to the ~~main~~ creation of a common Anglo-American front ~~against Russia~~ which the Russians would be ~~able to exploit~~ proposals put forward by the Americans. It is important that

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Reference:

FO

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61793

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That we should not become
¹⁸⁹involved in discussions with
 the Americans on their proposals.
 The Russians would immediately
 draw the deduction that your
 statement was a fake, & that we
 had some secret arrangement
 with the USA, about ^{the} transition
 period. ^{The Russians} ~~They~~ would be almost
 certain to make accusations
 on these lines, and the Palestine
 problem would then become a
 dispute between the "Anglo-Saxons"
 and the Russians. This must be
 avoided. (~~Remember~~ You will
 remember Laski's accusation
 that we had a fix-up with
 the Americans, which was
 untrue).

{ Seen by S. J. S }

JABIS

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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Cypher/OTP

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

1st November, 1947.

D. 5.20 p.m. 1st November, 1947.

Repeated to Washington No.11347.

Jerusalem,
Bagdad No.948
Beirut No.675
Damascus No.557
Jedda No.448
Amman No.478
Cairo No.2029
B.M.E.O. Cairo No.800

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

Your telegram No.3128 [of October 30th: Palestine].

Following for Colonial Secretary from Foreign Secretary.

You will have seen that Beirut telegram No.783 reinforces point made in your paragraph 4 about serious difficulties which will arise in Palestine immediately the United Nations decision is announced. Our whole object is to free ourselves at the earliest possible moment from the obligation to repress disturbances of this kind and it is for this reason amongst others that it is out of the question for us to express readiness to retain either our troops or our administration in Palestine longer than is absolutely necessary from considerations of the practical requirements of our withdrawal programme. If there is no Jew-Arab agreement, we shall withdraw both our administration and our troops in the shortest possible time in which this can physically be done. We cannot possibly accept any dateline dictated from outside and based on other considerations. If we were to accept the American proposal, we should find ourselves bound to stay in Palestine and maintain law and order until July 1st. This would be tantamount to enforcing partition by ourselves alone and would inevitably make havoc of our withdrawal programme. I am sure you will leave the Americans and other delegations in no doubt of our attitude on this point.

2./...

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Reference:- FO 371 / 61793

2. If there is any tendency to suggest that no progress can be made as regards implementation arrangements until we announce dates, I suggest that the line to take in reply is that if the settlement has to be enforced against the will of either party then it is for the sub-committee to put forward methods of implementation. When the committee have taken their decision and we know pretty clearly what the view of the Assembly is likely to be, we should then naturally be willing to discuss the question of our hand-over to a transitional administration, on the clear understanding, however, that our withdrawal of administration and troops would not thereby be delayed beyond the earliest date on which it could otherwise be completed. For your own information, while we cannot hope for some time to announce the date of the completion of our withdrawal, I would hope that, if the Assembly fail to reach an agreed settlement, we could immediately announce a date for the beginning of our withdrawal of both administration and troops.

3. I am glad to see from your telegram No. 3117 that the Americans have at last taken a rather more realistic line about boundaries in sub-committee I. It has hitherto appeared that the results of this sub-committee's work had been to increase rather than decrease the gap between the two parties.

4. Since the above was drafted I have seen the proposals put forward by the Americans. It is important that we should not become involved in discussions with the Americans on their proposals. The Russians would immediately draw the deduction that your statement was a fake, and that we had some secret arrangement with the United States about the transition. The Russians would be almost certain to make accusations on these lines, and the Palestine problem would then become a dispute between the "Anglo-Saxons" and the Russians. This must be avoided. (You will remember Laski's accusation that we had a fix-up with the Americans, which was untrue).

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 Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

682

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10198

1947

PALESTINE

1 NOV

192

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

10198/46/31

U.K. 10 Oct

New York

309

27 Oct

1 Nov

Jewish Immigration from Russia to Palestine.
 Transmits copy of letter from Harold Lomax
 New York containing information re Russian
 attitude to Palestine i.e. such an independent state
 established in Palestine, the Soviets would lose
 no time in producing a large number of
 Jewish immigrants from Russia, and facilitating
 their entry into Palestine.

Last Paper.

10197

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

✓
 Northern Dept.
 Mr. Halford
 13/11/47

✓
 (J.E. CAGAN)
 11

Mr. Benin
 Nov. 3

Rg
 3/11

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

✓
 10/14/48

✓
 10/14/48

Next Paper.

10207

32003 F.O.P.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

References:

FO

371

61793

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No. 309(52/308/47)

HIS Majesty **Permanent Delegate** at New York
presents his compliments to **H.M.P.S. of S. for F.A.**
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned
documents.

to the U.N.

British Delegation to the
United Nations

New York, N.Y.

27th October..., 1947....

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Letter to U.K. Del. to the U.N. dated 22nd Oct. 1947 From British Consulate- General, New York.	Jewish immigration from Russia to Palestine.

10198

NOV

Reference:

FO

371

61793

1914

British Consulate-General
25 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

SECRET

Further to my note of 16th, October, on the subject of Soviet motives in regard to a Zionist state, my informant has subsequently passed to me the following rather interesting item which again, he declares, is based upon remarks dropped in conversation by members of the Soviet Delegation.

These would acquire Palestinian citizenship, but among them would be large numbers indoctrinated with Communism, and these would comprise an army of highly trained agents, agitators and organisers working from Palestine as their national home and strategic centre, and bearing Palestinian nationality and passports, but actually Soviet agents owing no other allegiance than to the Kremlin.

(signed) Ron Sinclair

Paul S. Falla, Esquire,
U.K. Delegation to the United Nations,
Empire State Building,
34th Street & 5th Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

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Reference:- FO 371 / 61793

683

1947

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PALESTINE

E 10207

1 NOV

96

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 10207/46/21

Lord Inverchapel
Washington

6094

21 Oct

11 Nov

Visit of Mr WEIXMAN to Washington

Mr Weixman has written to Lord Inverchapel stating that he is coming to W. 10/21 and asking that Lord Inverchapel introduce him to the President. Suggest visit would be too slackening at moment but check it possible to arrange privately that he should make the visit alone, ask for concurrence.

Last Paper.

10198

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr. Mathieson C.O.

✓ 5 Nov.

Tel) Washington 11424

4 Nov.

8) C.O. (Mr. Mathieson)

✓ 5 Nov.

(Action
completed.)

JCM 5/11

(Index.)

4/4/48

Next Paper.

E 10219

(Minutes.)

Report to C.P. (Mr. Mathieson)

have spoken to C.O., who agree with the course proposed by Lord Inverchapel, and submit draft reply accordingly.

Fable
(J.E. CABLE)

3/11

It seems to me that we cannot refuse to act in this matter and I therefore recommend Lord Inverchapel's alternative in para. 3

N.A. Dept. 3/4

J.S. Beirne
Nov. 3

G.A. Warner

4/21

Tel. sent

JB Nov. 5

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61793

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10207

196E

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No.1

FROM WASHINGTON ^{NOV} FOREIGN OFFICE

Lord Inverchapel

D. 8. 38 p.m. 31st October, 1947.

No. 6094

31st October, 1947

R. 2. 45 a.m. 1st November, 1947.

Repeated to New York United Kingdom Delegation
(For Colonial Secretary.)

IMMEDIATE

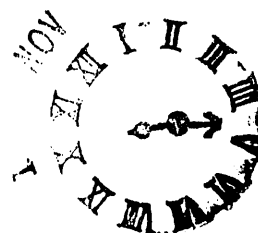
Dr. Weizman whom I have known for some thirty years writes from New York that he is coming to Washington and asks whether I can introduce him to the President as he is a British subject. He attaches great importance to seeing Mr Truman.

2. I feel that you will probably consider a visit to the White House by myself with Dr. Weizman will be too striking in the present circumstances.

3. I think that it should be possible to depart from customary practice and to arrange privately that he should make the visit unaccompanied. If you agree I shall try to do so.

2 2 2

1947



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Reference:

FO

371

61793

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Secret.
~~Confidential.~~
~~Restricted.~~
Open

WASHINGTON

No. 1142/4

(Date) ✓ Nov. 11

Repeat to :—

U.K. Del - to U.N.
New York No 3770

C.O. Connor

En Clair.

Distribution :-

Departmental No. 1

N.A. Sept ~~first~~ 3rd 1911

JB No. 3

Copies to :—

C.D. (Mr. Matheson)

1983

CAS 41

F. O.,

194 •

Despatched

 \mathcal{M}

Immediate

Enoch

October: visit of Dr. WEIZMAN
President Truman

I agree with course of action
proposed in paragraph 3 of your
Telegram.

89604

RECEIVED IN C.B.

5 NOV 1947

SENT TO DEPT.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

W4	06469/137	100m	9/46 (51)	F.&S.

WUKA

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Reference:- **FO 371/61793**

198
CONFIDENTIAL
E10207/46/51
En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL. No. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

No. 11424

D. 7.15 p.m. 4th November, 1947.

4th November, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation,
New York No. 3770.

IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No. 6094 [of 31st. October:
visit of Dr. Weizman to President Truman].

I agree .

EEEE

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Reference: FO 371 / 61793					

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684.

1947

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PALESTINE

10219

3 NOV

199

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E10219/46/31

PQ

M. Mangles

29 Oct

3 Nov

British Casualties - Palestine

M. Mangles asked how many British soldiers
have been killed and how many injured in
Palestine due to terrorist activities during the
three months to Oct 20, in New Zealand
during specified period eight were killed
and 82 injured.

Last Paper.

10207

(Minutes.)

JBMV.3

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

G.E. 24/11

(Index.)

24/11/48

Next Paper.

10220

32003 F.O.P.

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2
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Reference:

FO

371

61793

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EASTERN

Parliamentary Question

u. *270. Mr. Marples,—To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, how many British soldiers have been killed and how many have been injured in Palestine due to Terrorist activities during the three months to 20th October 1947. [Wednesday 29th October.]

Wallasey.

ANSWERED 29 OCT 1947
REPLY ATTACHED.

F.O. ARE NOT ASKED TO ADVISE

attach reply

ds. Oct. 23

PALESTINE

Terrorism

38. Mr. Marples asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many British soldiers have been killed and how many have been injured in Palestine due to terrorist activities during the three months to 20th October, 1947.

Mr. Rees-Williams: During the three months preceding 20th October, 1947, eight British soldiers were killed and 82 injured by terrorist activities in Palestine.

10219

3 NOV

(71)

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Reference:

FO

371

61793

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685

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1947

PALESTINE

10220

3 NOV

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 10220/46/31

Hungarian

Legation

5172/1947

27 Oct

3 Nov

Hungarian Institute - Jerusalem

Dr. János Sándor is appointed director of Hungarian
Dept. at Hebrew University - Jerusalem
He has all rights and privileges enjoyed
by other cultural institutions and personnel
must be stay in Palestine. Should be granted
to 1st floor - 60.

Last Paper.

10219

References.

9215/46/21

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. W. H. Hames 60.
✓ 5 Nov.
apt. Hungarian Legation
✓ 6 Nov.
8. 60. 7 Nov.
9. Budapest 7 Nov.
no. 630 Nov. 6

(Action
completed.)

G. L. H. 21/5

(Index)

7/9/48

Next Paper.

(E 1091/1/31) 48

E 10241

(Minutes.)

Copy to C.O. (Mr. Hames)

Acknowledgment to Hungarian Legation

Cultural Relations Dept. 27.11.

Min. Aitken

Mr. Hames

Perhaps the British Council could be
informed of this after the C.O. has
expressed its views.

Jain Aitken 11/11

B.O. 1/12

C.O. reminded

B.O. 1/12

C.O. reminded

B.O. 2/12/48

Bu. May 1st 1948

13 Feb. 2

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Reference:

FO

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61793

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HUNGARIAN LEGATION.
MAGYAR KÖVETSÉG.

5172/1947

9315/46/31

46, EATON PLACE,
S.W.1.

SLOANE 4048.

E 10144

10220

OCT

202 E

enter
soon

The Hungarian Legation present their compliments to His Majesty's Foreign Office and upon instructions received from the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs have the honour to communicate the following:

1. The Hungarian Ministry of Education have established a Hungarian Department at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and have appointed Dr. Tibor Scheer Director in charge of that establishment.

2. The Hungarian Legation in London have been instructed to approach His Majesty's Foreign Office in order that all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other Palestinian Cultural Institutions, and a permanent permit to stay in Palestine should be kindly granted to the members of the new Hungarian Department at the Jerusalem University and Dr. T. Scheer respectively.

London, 27th October, 1947.



Foreign Office
Whitehall.

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Reference: **FO 371/61793**

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

(2/47) (14728) Wt. 11489-144 250m 5/47 G.S.S.

Registry
No. E 10220/46/31

J.E.C.

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
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Draft.

Hungarian Legation

Copies to:
C.O. (ref E 9315)
Budapest

RECEIVED IN DIVISION.	
5 NOV 1947	
SENT TO TYPE	5/11
DESPATCHED	6/11

OUT FILE

5 pm
6 h -

6 Nov.

203

The Foreign Office present
their compliments to the
Hungarian Legation and have
the honour to acknowledge
their note no. 5172/1947 of the
17th October about the appointment
of Dr. Tibor Scheer as Director
of the Hungarian Department
at the Hebrew University in
Jerusalem.

2. A similar communication
has been received through
H.M. Legation in Budapest and
the matter has been referred
to the Colonial Office. As soon
as a reply is received the
Hungarian

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **EO**
371 / 61793

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204 Hungarian Legation will be informed.

[Signature]
4/11

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61793

206

The Foreign Office present their compliments to the Hungarian Legation and have the honour to acknowledge their note No. 5172/1947 of the 27th October about the appointment of Dr. Tiber Scheer as Director of the Hungarian Department at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

2. A similar communication has been received through His Majesty's Legation in Budapest and the matter has been referred to the Colonial Office. As soon as a reply is received the Hungarian Legation will be informed.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

6th November, 1947.

1 2 3 4 5 6
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 Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793
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		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> E10241 /G 23 NOV 1947 </div>	
136 31 E10241 /45/C New York 3174 Dated 2 Nov Received 3 Nov		Palestine EASTERN Palestine: Nuri Pasha's plan for arbitration	
Last Paper. E10197 References. E9908/46/S (Print.) (How disposed of.)		(Minutes.) D. J. Benin Nov. 4 This would seem rather premature. P. J. J. J. 10 x 1	
(Action completed.) 2F"/"	(Index.) up H.	Next Paper.	

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61793

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207

Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

Sir A. Cadogan
No. 3174

D. 3.00 p.m. 2nd November, 1947

R. 9.00 p.m. 2nd November, 1947

2nd November, 1947

Repeated to Washington

IMPORTANT

TOP SECRET

Following for Burrows from Beeley.

My telegram No. 3018: Palestine.

Nuri has informed Evatt of his plan for joint arbitration by Americans and Ibn Saud, and Evatt has told Marshall, suggesting that the latter should meet Faisal for a preliminary exchange of views. Nuri tells us that Marshall has agreed and that Evatt has put his suggestion to Faisal and Marshall in the form of a letter addressed to each.

2. I will keep you informed of any developments.

[Copy sent to Mr. Burrows].

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371/61793

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3018 D. 1.57 p.m. 22nd October 1947
R. 10.10 p.m. 22nd October 1947
22nd October 1947

Repeated to Washington

IMMEDIATE
TOP SECRET

Following for Burrows from Beeley.

Palestine.

At a recent meeting of Commonwealth delegates on the subject of Palestine Dr. Evatt enquired which of the Arab delegates would be most ready to consider proposals for conciliation. Nuri Pasha was suggested. Man [sic] and I have since heard from Nuri himself that he was approached by Evatt with the suggestion that a sub-Committee of the Palestine Committee should be formed to explore the possibility of conciliation.

2. Nuri welcomed this suggestion, which has also been discussed by Evatt with the Turkish Delegation and apparently with some others. He thinks however, that nothing can come of it because - apart from probable Jewish obstinacy - the Arab Delegations here would be bound to take instructions from home which would mean that the decisive influence on their attitude would lie with the Mufti of Jerusalem. Nuri has therefore been trying to think of some way of eliminating the Mufti's influence so that on the Arab side at least a measure of compromise would become a possibility. He has now hit upon the following idea which has also been expounded to us - at a separate and earlier interview - by Hafiz Wahba.

3. The idea is that an attempt at joint arbitration should be made by Ibn Saud in person together with a representative of United States Government. The other Arab States would bind themselves in advance to accept any award agreed upon by the two principals. It would then be impossible for the Mufti to resist it effectively. The meeting should take place in Jedda or Riyadh.

4. Having worked out this plan Nuri first approached Feisal who asked for time to consider it and to refer to his father. On 19th October Feisal informed Nuri that the plan was acceptable adding, however, that it would be well for the King to have advisers from the other Arab States in attendance during the talks. This would make it easier for / him....

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 Reference: -
FO
 371 / 61793

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-2-

him to go to the limit of reasonable concessions.

5. Nuri thereupon approached the Heads of the other Arab Delegations and Jamal Husseini all of whom gave their approval to the plan. The way was thus clear for an approach to the Americans.

6. Before formally discussing the proposal with the Americans which he hoped to do at a very high level Nuri wished us to take some preliminary soundings and let him know what the chances appeared to be. I suggested that the Americans having committed themselves so outspokenly to the U.N.S.C.O.P. majority plan might find it difficult to engage now in discussions obviously directed towards a different solution and that the time for Arab-American conversations might not come until it was clear that the Assembly could provide no effective settlement of the problem. To this Nuri replied that if the Assembly failed to solve the problem Arab spirits would at once rise and it would become more difficult for Ibn Saud to make adequate concessions. In any case nothing could be lost by making an attempt now. His Majesty's Government would surely be pleased if a settlement could be arrived at in the way he suggested. I agreed and promised to pass on what he had told me to the State Department.

7. I have accordingly given the story to Wadsworth of the United States Delegation who will keep me informed of developments.

8. Neither Nuri nor Sheikh Hafiz indicated the basis on which they thought an agreed settlement was possible. I learn from another source however that Faris Bey is speaking of cantonisation as an acceptable solution and this fits in with the report in Beirut telegram No. 756 to Foreign Office that Azzam thinks the Arabs might now accept something on the lines of the Moohsapison plan.

9. Please inform Colonial Office.

[Copy sent to Mr. Burrows]

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Reference:-

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61793

<p>137 31</p> <p>E 10242/46/C</p> <p>New York 3176</p> <p>Dated 2 Nov Received 3 Nov</p>	<p>Palestine EASTERN</p>	<p>245 E10242 /G L5 NOV 1947</p>
<p>Last Paper. E10241</p> <p>References. E10254/95/137 E10197/46/C</p>	<p>Palestine Committee: Present <u>Situation</u></p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>	<p>(Minutes.)</p> <p>YAP</p> <p>Tel. to NY being sent.</p> <p>JAB/3 5 XL</p>	
<p>(How disposed of.)</p> <p>8) c.o. A.N. Addip W.O. 10 Nov</p> <p>1) c.o. A.N. Addip W.O. 3 Nov</p> <p>2) New York 3812 7 Nov</p> <p>3) Tel to Jerusalem 2740 7 Nov.</p>	<p>See within</p> <p>1. Mr Trafford Smith c.o. to Mr Rullow 75842/154/13/47 6 Nov. JB Nov. 12</p> <p>2. Tel to Palestine 2675 3 Nov JB Nov. 18</p>	
<p>(Action completed.)</p> <p>25 87</p>	<p>(Index.)</p> <p>WJA</p>	<p>Next Paper.</p>

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Reference: **FO** 371/61793

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 3176

D. 8.17 p.m. 2nd November 1947
R. 2.51 a.m. 3rd November 1947

R. 2.51 a.m. 3rd November 1947

2nd November 1947^R

Repeated to Jerusalem

IMMEDIATE

~~TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL~~

Following for Lloyd, Colonial Office from Martin.

Position in Palestine Committee will be further considered by United Kingdom Delegation after statement from Soviet Representative expected tomorrow and in the light of message from Foreign Secretary in Foreign Office telegram No. 3737. Meanwhile you may find it useful to have my own purely personal comments on the situation as I see it today. There was little opportunity for discussion with Secretary of State after Herschel Johnson's statement on 31st October and I cannot quote his authority for the views expressed in this telegram; but his parting advice was that we should continue to maintain the position we had already stated.

2. My reply to Johnson (largely based on notes drafted by Secretary of State who was present during latter's statement) made it clear that the United Kingdom position remained as described in Mr. Creech Jones' statements on 26th September and 16th October. The reply did not however indicate any particular application of these statements to the United States proposal and did not reject the latter out of hand, although underlining the heavy responsibilities which it would impose upon the Mandatory Government.

3. It is necessary to consider what further clarification of the position of His Majesty's Government, if any, is necessary at this stage. If nothing is added to the immediate reply given on 31st October, some delegates will continue to complain of a sense of unreality in proceeding with discussion of plans based on the hypothesis of United Kingdom assistance which in the end may not be forthcoming. In general however there will probably be a disposition to follow the United States Delegate's advice (paragraph 10 of my No. 3165) to "go ahead and formulate a plan" looking for the cooperation of the United Kingdom later on.

4. It seems clear that we could not undertake without qualification to accept the responsibilities suggested for us by the United States proposal. On any reasonable estimate of Arab reactions to an enforced partition (and at this stage there is no prospect of an agreed partition) the Palestine Government would be faced with a problem of maintaining law and order throughout Palestine beyond its unaided resources, / particularly....

[illegible]

2.

5. Ought we then to inform the Sub-Committee at once and categorically that there is no (repeat no) prospect of our acceptance of the United States proposal and that they had better look for some other solution? If we do so

(b) the Committee will be driven to consider proposals for an international force. The latter will raise all sorts of difficulties with the Russians and may well ultimately result in embarrassment for ourselves. It is perhaps because they themselves want to escape such embarrassment that the United States Government have now abandoned their original proposal and they would not welcome being forced back on to it. Even if agreement could be reached on the formation of a force to the composition on which we saw no objection, the duty of handing over to it in Palestine would greatly complicate and delay our own withdrawal.

/logical....

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Reference: FO 371 / 61793					

7. We should in either case then proceed with withdrawal but if this were arranged in stages geographically, so that non-contiguous Jewish and Arab areas were the first to be released from our control, a partition would in effect emerge without His Majesty's Government incurring odium in the Arab world from enforcing a declared policy of this kind. At this stage of the withdrawal there might even be a possibility of Arabs and Jews coming to terms. On the other hand our withdrawal might be hampered by the reactions of disappointed Jewry.

8. In view of all the above considerations it seems best to stand on the short statement I made on 31st October and avoid any further explanation of the position of His Majesty's Government.

9. Above are the points of my Sunday meditations which I have not yet been able to discuss with Cadogan. Position may of course be altered by Russian statement tomorrow. It would be most helpful at this stage to have the views of yourself or High Commissioner to whom telegram is being repeated.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to High Commissioner
Jerusalem (Top Secret and Personal) as my telegram No.145.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office for Mr. Lloyd and for repetition to Jerusalem]

CCC

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

Registry

No. *E 10242/46/9*

Draft
Sir A. Cadogan,
New York. *3812*

Repeated to
Jerusalem.

by Co. No 2740

Nov 7

Cypher

Dept No 1

RECEIVED IN G.B.

8 NOV 1917

SENT TO DEPT.

Secret
D. 7147 214
Following for Martin from Lloyd,
Colonial Office. New York telegram to
Foreign Office No. 3176, ~~repeated~~
Jerusalem No. 145.

Many thanks for letting us have your
comments on the situation. We have not
yet been able to discuss them with the
Secretary of State but some guidance on
your problem has been sent in Foreign
Office telegram to New York No. 3780.
We note from paragraph 6 of New York
telegram to Foreign Office No. 3203 that
you have already taken the line you
suggested in refraining from comment on
the Russian proposals. Trafford Smith's
letter to you of the 5th November has
given you a summary of the work of the
Official Committee on Palestine and an
indication of the recommendations to be
submitted to Ministers. It is against
the background of the work of this
Committee that we have considered your
telegram and concurred in the views

/expressed

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Reference: **FO**
371 / 61793

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expressed in Foreign Office telegram
to New York ^{no} 3780.

2. You will now have the views of the High Commissioner in his telegram to you No. 1519. With reference to paragraph 2(a) of the High Commissioner's telegram the availability of sufficient troops up to April 1 will of course be radically affected by the preoccupation of these forces with their own withdrawal which will be their primary task. We feel here that ~~the High Commissioner has perhaps overestimated~~ ^{Paragraph 3 of that telegram may} the possibility of finding some adequate United Nations authority on whom responsibility for Palestine can be devolved. In any event we have already made it clear that we are not prepared to accept a major role in providing the ~~backing~~ ^{backing} for the imposition of a disputed settlement under United Nations supervision. This would apply to either civil or military ~~backing~~ ^{backing} ~~to the latter~~ ^{although mainly} ~~task~~ ^{task} To undertake such ^a task would involve us more deeply in those very embarrassments from which it is the object of our policy to escape. BABS 7 x 1

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DEPARTMENTAL No.1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3812

NO. 5012
7th November, 1947.

D. 2. 40 p.m. 7th November, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem

SECRET

Following for Martin from Lloyd, Colonial Office.
New York telegram to Foreign Office No. 3176, repeated
Jerusalem No. 145.

Many thanks for letting us have your comments on the situation. We have not yet been able to discuss them with the Secretary of State but some guidance on your problem has been sent in Foreign Office telegram to New York No. 3780. We note from paragraph 6 of New York telegram to Foreign Office No. 3203 that you have already taken the line you suggested in refraining from comment on the Russian proposals. Trafford Smith's letter to you of the 5th November has given you a summary of the work of the Official Committee on Palestine and an indication of the recommendations to be submitted to Ministers. It is against the background of the work of this Committee that we have considered your telegram and concurred in the views expressed in Foreign Office telegram to New York No. 3780.

2. You will now have the views of the High Commissioner in his telegram to you No. 1519. With reference to paragraph 2 (a) of the High Commissioner's telegram the availability of sufficient troops up to April 1st will of course be radically affected by the preoccupation of these forces with their own withdrawal which will be their primary task. We feel here that paragraph 3 of that telegram may overestimate the possibility of finding some adequate United Nations authority on whom responsibility for Palestine can be devolved. In any event we have already made it clear that we are not prepared to accept a major role in providing the backing for the imposition of a disputed settlement under United Nations supervision. This would apply to either civil or military backing. To undertake such a task would involve us more deeply in those very embarrassments from which it is the object of our policy to escape.

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10 NOV 1947 E

217 (enter
for. hand)

The Church House,
Gt. Smith Street,
S.W.1.

My Reference 75872/154/13/47.

Your Reference

6th November, 1947.

IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

E10242/46)

Dear Burns.

With reference to your letter of November 4 and Foreign Office telegram to New York No.3780 I enclose a draft telegram which Lloyd would like to send to Martin in reply to his telegram No.3176. E10242/46

The letter referred to in the telegram is one from myself to Martin giving him the general results of the work of the Official Committee on Palestine and enclosing a copy of a brief which we have prepared for our Secretary of State on the papers to be taken by the Defence Committee on November 7.

I should be glad to know by telephone if you concur in the draft. We will then arrange for the telegram to be repeated to Jerusalem. In this connexion I enclose a copy of the High Commissioner's reply to Martin's telegram to which reference is made in the draft.

Yours sincerely
Hafford Smith
(Hafford Smith)

B. A. B. BURROWS, ESQ.

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OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

FROM S. OF S. COLONIES.

Sent 3rd November, 1947. 12.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 2675 Top Secret and Personal.

Following from United Kingdom Delegation
New York to Foreign Office No. 5176 of 2nd November repeated
to Jerusalem as No. 145. Begins.

Following for Lloyd Colonial Office from Martin.

Position in Palestine Committee will be further
considered by United Kingdom Delegation after statement from
Soviet representative expected tomorrow and in the light of
message from Foreign Secretary in Foreign Office telegram
No. 3737. Meanwhile you may find it useful to have my own
purely personal comments on the situation as I see it today.
There was little opportunity for discussion with
Secretary of State after Herschel Johnson's statement on
31st October and I cannot quote his authority for the views
expressed in this telegram but his parting advice was that we
should continue to maintain the position we had already
stated.

2. My reply to Johnson (largely based on notes
drafted by Secretary of State who was present during latter's
statement) made it clear that the United Kingdom position
remained as described in Mr. Creech Jones' statements on
26th September and 16th October: the reply did not however
indicate any particular application of these statements to the
United States proposal and did not reject the latter out of
hand, although underlining the heavy responsibilities which
it would impose upon the Mandatory Government.

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4. It seems clear that we could not undertake without qualification to accept the responsibilities suggested for us by the United States proposal. On any reasonable estimate of Arab reactions to an enforced partition (and at this stage there is no prospect of an agreed partition) the Palestine Government would be faced with a problem of maintaining law and order throughout Palestine beyond its unaided resources, particularly when the latter were being progressively weakened in the process of withdrawal. Even if withdrawal were made by geographical stages and the responsibility were accepted only in respect of the progressively contracting fraction of the country over which control was maintained, the fact that we were supporting the introduction of partition would expose us to Arab violence and thus greatly increase and complicate the difficulties of withdrawal. As judged here (and of course subject to the views of the military authorities), even such a limited acceptance of responsibility would involve a heavy military commitment.

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FO 371/61793

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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an international force. The latter will raise all sorts of difficulties with the Russians and may well ultimately result in embarrassment for ourselves. It is perhaps because they themselves want to escape such embarrassment that the United States Government have now abandoned their original proposal and they would not welcome being forced back on to it. Even if agreement could be reached on the formation of a force to the composition of which we saw no objection, the duty of handing over to it in Palestine would greatly complicate and delay our own withdrawal.

6. It may be better to let the committee discussion proceed on the basis of the United States proposal in the expectation that a two-thirds majority will ultimately not be forthcoming in General Assembly. In that event we could not fairly be criticised if we then announced that the plan, which would thus lack the authority of United Nations endorsement, is not one which we felt able to carry out. If after all there should be a two-thirds majority and we then are in the position of having to decline to follow the United Nations advice (for which we asked) we shall at least have the logical defence that we could not declare our position till we saw the plan in its final form and knew the reaction of Arabs and Jews, since on the character of the plan as a whole (including such features as boundaries proposed and immigration arrangements) and the reaction to it depends the nature of the burden we should be undertaking in accepting the role involved.

7. We should in either case then proceed with withdrawal but if this were arranged in stages geographically, so that non-contiguous Jewish and Arab areas were the first to be released from our control, a partition would in effect emerge without His Majesty's Government incurring odium in the Arab world from enforcing a declared policy of this kind. At this stage of the withdrawal there might even be a

possibility/

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Reference:

FO

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possibility of Arabs and Jews coming to terms. On the other hand our withdrawal might be hampered by the reactions of disappointed Jewry.

8. In view of all the above considerations it seems best to stand on the short statement I made on 31st October and avoid any further explanation of the position of His Majesty's Government.

9. Above are the points of my Sunday meditations which I have not yet been able to discuss with Cadogan. Position may of course be altered by Russian statement tomorrow. It would be most helpful at this stage to have the views of yourself or High Commissioner to whom telegram is being repeated. Ends.

distributed to:

B.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir C. Jeffries
Sir S. Cairns
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Bagg
Mr. Holding

Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Higham
Mr. Fitzgerald
Mr. Gibson
P. 445.

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<p>138</p> <p>10243</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>10243 /G</p> <p>3 NOV 1947</p>		
<p>E 10243 /46/C</p> <p>F.O. Min</p> <p>Mr Burrows</p> <p>Dated 28 Oct</p> <p>Received 3 Nov</p>	<p>Palestine: Notes for Soff's conversation with Mr Douglas</p>			
<p>Last Paper</p> <p>E 10242</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p> <p>23.5.47</p> <p>WV.4</p> <p>20</p> <p>24/41</p>			
<p>References</p>				
<p>(Print)</p>				
<p>(How disposed of)</p>				
<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="120 2241 404 2441"> <p>(Action completed)</p> <p>25/11</p> </td> <td data-bbox="404 2241 607 2441"> <p>(Index)</p> <p>Wp.</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>25/11</p>	<p>(Index)</p> <p>Wp.</p>		
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<p>Next Paper</p>				

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(14) This fact, coupled with our appreciation of the strategic importance of the Middle East, seems to make it clear that all efforts should at present be used towards finding some settlement which would not provoke such intense hostility. There are certain indications that some at least of the Arab representatives might be willing at least to consider a compromise of some kind, and in our view it is in the direction of compromise that the only solution can be found. We hope therefore that the Americans will take every opportunity of discussion in this sense with Arab as well as Jewish representatives.

If on the other hand there is an agreed settlement there is no reason why a C.N. Commission should not settle details - boundaries etc while we maintained law & order - see Sir O. Sargent's minute attached.

C. F. Warner
28/10.

BAR Burns
28th October, 1947.

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Reference:-

FO 371 / 61793

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TOP SECRET

*I have discussed
this with Mr. G.B.*PALESTINE.

The Secretary of State has been considering whether, in the event of an Arab-Jew agreement regarding partition, we could make an offer in the following sense:

We would be prepared to maintain the British Administration and forces in Palestine for 12 months from the date of any agreement in order to help in the putting into effect of the agreement. During the 12 months' period it would be necessary for the Jews and Arabs to put their house in order, and work out the implications of the agreement, particularly boundaries. The British authorities would take no part in the latter measures, which would have to be undertaken by the United Nations, who might appoint a Committee for the purpose. The membership of this Committee, if possible, should not include any of the Four Great Powers.

The scheme would also entail a United Nations resolution forbidding illegal immigration, the British forces being empowered to take the necessary forcible measures to counter any illegal immigration which continued.

We would also hope under such a scheme to be able to relieve the Cyprus camps by introducing into Palestine as legal immigrants during the 12 month period the illegal immigrants at present detained there.

PD.

23rd October, 1947.

If there is an agreed settlement, no matter what it is, we have promised to help to implement it during the "transitional period". This may mean 12 months or more but we should no doubt be able to fix our own time limit at the very outset.

There is no reason why the machinery set up for putting an agreed settlement into operation should not be entrusted to a committee on which neither we nor the other Great Powers are represented. Our promised help would take the form of continuing to maintain law and order and to run the day-to-day administration until

our.....

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Minutes.

our successor or successors were ready to take over.

Of course, if there was a real agreed settlement this would have to include a settlement of the immigration question and in that event there would presumably be no further illegal immigration. If, nevertheless, illegal immigration did continue it would mean that the Jews who had agreed to the settlement were being defied by their own extremists: in such an event I should strongly deprecate the Royal Navy being used to intervene in what would be a domestic Jewish quarrel. In any case if illegal immigration started in such circumstances the agreed settlement would soon break down and our responsibility in regard to it would presumably terminate.

J. Sargent

23rd October, 1947.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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- 8 NOV 1947



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int. sec.
800

UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
 EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
 NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

TELEPHONE:
 LONGACRE 5-2070

REPLIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED
 P. O. BOX 304
 NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

SECRET

October 29th, 1947.

Dear Bernard,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd October, enclosing a copy of a paper on "possible compromise settlements for Palestine". I think it is a pity the terms of reference were restricted as they were. The movement here in favour of a compromise solution, which the Siamese Vice-Chairman of our Committee says is gaining ground among the Delegates, takes as its basis a unitary State. The concessions the Arabs would be asked to make would involve continuing immigration for a fixed period and the formation of Jewish cantons.

Within the limits of its terms of reference, I have only one comment on the paper, which concerns Section 2 (Immigration). I think the first paragraph of that Section gives a rather inadequate impression of the contrast between the two plans on this subject. It is quite certain that the Jewish State under the majority plan would have unfettered control over its own immigration policy. And, as I read the constitutional provisions of the minority plan, it is equally certain that this would not enable any Jewish immigration to take place without Arab consent. I think this is another way of saying that the really crucial issue is whether or not the Jews are to have a State, though no doubt the bearing of this on the immigration problem is a principal reason for its importance.

If this /

B.A.B. Burrows, Esq.,
 Eastern Department,
 Foreign Office,
 London.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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If this is so, then the last paragraph of Section 2 is still over-optimistic. On the basis of partition there is no possibility whatever of a compromise on the question of immigration, because the Zionists would quite reasonably maintain that immigration into their own State was their own affair, and not a proper subject for negotiation with outsiders.

On the basis of a unitary State, it could however be provided that, over a fixed period of years before the Government acquired complete control over immigration policy, Jews should be admitted in numbers laid down, e.g., by agreement between the Palestine State and the United Nations.

Yours ever,

Harold

P.S. In my last letter, page 2,
"furtive anomalies" should
read "frontier anomalies"!

H.B.

amendment
made HB

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<p>1947</p> <p>141</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>251</p> <p>E10246 /G</p> <p>NOV 1947</p>
<p>E10246 /46/9</p> <p>OCP(4Y)1</p> <p>Dated 30 OCT</p> <p>Received 3 NOV</p>	<p>Appointment of official Committee on Palestine</p>	
<p>Last Paper</p> <p>E10245</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p> <p>JB NW. 4</p>	
<p>References</p>	<p>See within</p> <p>111P(4Y)84</p> <p>31 OCT.</p> <p>JB NW. 7</p>	
<p>(Print)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of)</p>		
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>25 7</p>	<p>(Index)</p> <p>Wpt</p>	
<p>Next Paper</p>		

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S E C R E T

O.C.P. (47) 1

COPY NO. 2

30TH OCTOBER, 1947

CABINET

OFFICIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Note by the Secretary to the Cabinet

The Prime Minister has approved the appointment of an Official Committee to assist the Defence Committee in co-ordinating Departmental action in connection with the withdrawal of British authority from Palestine.

This Committee will also handle any remaining inter-departmental business connected with illegal immigration into Palestine. The Official and Ministerial Committees on Illegal Immigration will be discontinued.

2. Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the new Committee will be -

- "(a) To co-ordinate the preparation of plans for the withdrawal from Palestine of the civil administration and Armed Forces; and to act as a clearing house for any matters of policy which may arise in the execution of the withdrawal;
- (b) To co-ordinate Departmental action in dealing with Jewish illegal immigration into Palestine; and in particular, to consider all possible methods by which this traffic might be stopped at source".

3. Composition

Chairman: Mr. S.E.V. Luke, Cabinet Office

Members:

Representatives of:-

Foreign Office
Colonial Office
Ministry of Defence
Admiralty
War Office
Air Ministry
Ministry of Transport
Treasury

Representatives of the Ministry of Fuel and Power and the Ministry of Civil Aviation will be invited to attend when business affecting their Departments is under discussion.

Secretaries: Commander W. Evershed, R.N., Cabinet Office
Mr. J.D. Higham, Colonial Office.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61793

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4. The Committee will report to the Defence Committee.

(Signed) NORMAN BROOK

Cabinet Office, S.W. 1.,
30th October, 1947.

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31ST OCTOBER. 1947.

Note by the Secretary

At their 1st meeting on Friday 31st October the Official Committee on Palestine invited the Illegal Immigration Working Party to continue to deal with day-to-day measures in connection with illegal immigration, reporting when necessary to the Official Committee on Palestine.

Papers and minutes in the O.C.P. series dealing with Illegal Immigration will be sent to former recipients of I.I.P. papers and minutes who would not otherwise receive copies of O.C.P. documents

(Signed) W. EVERSLED
Secretary.

Cabinet Office, S.W.1.
31ST OCTOBER, 1947.

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<p>144</p>	<p>Palestine</p> <p>EASTERN</p>	<p>235</p> <p>E10281 /G</p> <p>5 NOV 1947</p>
<p>E10281/46/G</p> <p>Handy comm</p> <p>F.O. Pin</p> <p>Dated 22 Oct</p> <p>Received 4 Nov</p>	<p>Proposed withdrawal from Palestine</p>	
<p>Last Paper</p> <p>E10248</p>	<p>(Minutes)</p>	
<p>References</p>	<p>See within</p> <p>1. Minutes of Defence Council 28 Oct</p> <p>2. P.M.'s Minute N 383/47 28 Oct.</p>	
<p>(Print)</p>	<p>Mr. Denis Mr. 6</p>	
<p>(How disposed of)</p> <p>Pin to P.M. PM/48/153 22 Oct.</p> <p>off Mr. Bealey New York from Mr. Rissows 18 Oct.</p>	<p>RP</p> <p>V 6/21</p>	
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>DF 11</p>	<p>(Index)</p> <p>W.H.</p>	
<p>Next Paper</p>		

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4 NOV 1947

Minutes.

E 236

EASTERN DEPT.

Palestine

You will see that the Secretary of State has indicated that he agrees with the Minister of Defence's minute to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has, however, now replied to the Secretary of State's original minute and the Minister of Defence's minute saying that he agrees that a preliminary discussion by the Defence Committee is necessary and that he is giving instructions for a meeting of the Defence Committee to be called for this purpose. At the same time, the Prime Minister also agrees that an Official Committee would be useful, and that such a committee could be set up right away.

29th October, 1947.

This has been discussed with the Cabinet Offices. They are proposing to the PM a Defence Committee for Thursday Nov 6. I understood from Mr Dixon that this would probably be agreeable to the S.O.S. Meanwhile

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

10287

4 NOV

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Minutes.

Meanwhile an official committee is being set up under the chairmanship of Mr Luke of the Cabinet Office (not Sir S. Lloyd, C.O., as at first intended)

Sir O. Sargent has asked me to represent F.O. in

Mr Wright's absence.

May we have this copy of the Min. of Def. & minute
to enter, also a copy of P.M.'s minute?
J.H.B. Burrows
30.X

P.S.

You may certainly enter this.
The P.M.'s minute should be on
its way to you by now

J.H.

30/X

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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IMMEDIATE

PRIME MINISTER.

I attach herewith a memorandum on various problems arising from the proposed withdrawal from Palestine. The main purpose of the memorandum is to set out those problems on which decisions will be required before we can announce a definite date by which we shall be out of Palestine, as we may wish to do in the very near future. Answers to the questions are suggested in the memorandum, but I do not necessarily wish to be committed to positive recommendations until we have been able to discuss the problems. I suggest that the best way of doing this would be for the paper to be taken by the Defense Committee. If you agree, I hope you will arrange for a meeting of the Defense Committee to be called together for this purpose.

2. I am sending copies of this minute to the Minister of Defence and the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office.

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

22nd October, 1947.

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TOP SECRET

Withdrawal from Palestine

There are a number of questions to be decided before we can state the way in which withdrawal is to be carried out and the date by which it might be completed. In raising these questions now, I am not in any way casting doubt on the policy on which we have agreed and which still seems the only possible one.

(1) When will our withdrawal begin and how long will it take? Should the Administration be withdrawn in advance of the military forces?

(a) We should announce a date for the beginning of withdrawal immediately after the failure of the Assembly to provide an agreed settlement:

(b) For a short period we should no doubt have to remain administratively responsible for the whole of Palestine, but should withdraw our administration as soon as possible and in advance of troops. We should then announce the end of our administration in Palestine. After that our troops would be no longer responsible for law and order and would only control those defined areas in which they would be concentrated pending final withdrawal.

(c) We should announce a date for the final withdrawal of our troops as soon as possible.

(2) Should we retain forces in Jerusalem after our general withdrawal and in the necessary corridors to Haifa and Lydda, as suggested to the High Commissioners. This would involve us in trouble with the Arabs and would destroy the effect of our withdrawal.

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(6) What ought we to do with Jewish illegal immigrants in Cyprus or elsewhere at the end of our administration in Palestine? They will become a financial liability on His Majesty's Government/

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Government instead of the Palestine Government. They should either be transferred to a Jewish State, if that is set up, or U.N. should be made responsible.

(7) When we withdraw, to whom should we hand over?

If an alternative administration is set up, we should hand over to it, but should not delay our withdrawal in order to do so. Otherwise, since neither the Jewish Agency nor the Arab Higher Committee have existing means of exercising authority (and the latter body represents predominantly the extreme Mufti faction), we could only hand over to local authorities, while informing the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency of our intentions. In pursuance of our treaty obligation, we should tell the Transjordan Government of our general plans, but we should not tell any Arab Government of the details of our withdrawal arrangements.

(8) In view of threats by Arab Governments to use their armed forces in Palestine, should we take any steps to discourage them and what should be our attitude towards British assistance to Arab forces? The possibilities of action by Arab armies other than the Arab Legion are greatly exaggerated. Arab intervention would be more likely to take the form of guerilla activities and supplies of money and arms. We need do no more than emphasise to the Arab Governments that we are still responsible for Palestine until further

notice/

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(c) We are obliged by treaty to pay a subsidy to Transjordan to help them maintain the forces required for mutual defence. We are also, by a temporary arrangement, paying the expenses of units of the Arab Legion lent to Palestine. A British officer, Brigadier Glubb, seconded from the Palestine Police, is in command of the Arab Legion and there are other British officers, some seconded from the British Army, others under contract with the Transjordan Government. We should have to secure the withdrawal of the Arab Legion from Palestine as soon as we began to withdraw ourselves. The payment in respect of the loan of Arab Legion units would have to be cancelled. If the Transjordan Government subsequently sent the Legion back into Palestine, we should probably have to withdraw the subsidy provided for in the Treaty and also withdraw the seconded British officers. We should warn King Abdullah in advance that this would be our attitude. The other Arab States will probably make up whatever financial loss Transjordan incurs in this way.

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SECRET

M.383/47

FOREIGN SECRETARY

Eastern Dept.

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

S.S.

PD. 29/10.

Eastern Dept.

244

I have read your Minute P.M./47/153 covering a memorandum on various problems arising from the proposed withdrawal from Palestine, and the Minister of Defence's Minute of the 28th October commenting on it.

The points involved must be cleared before a decision is come to at U.N.O, and I agree with you that a preliminary discussion by the Defence Committee is necessary. I am accordingly giving instructions that a meeting of the Defence Committee should be called for this purpose. I agree with the Minister of Defence that an official committee would be useful, and this could also be set up right away.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Minister of Defence and the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office.

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

28th October, 1947.

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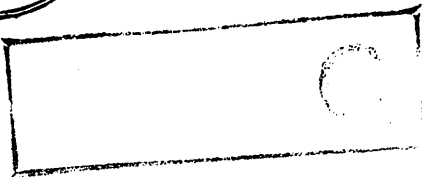
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S/S



WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE
PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO THE
MINISTER OF DEFENCE

J. A. H. 110

28th October, 1947

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TOP SECRET

I enclose, for your top secret and personal information, a copy of a paper on Palestine which is being submitted to the Secretary of State, with the idea that he might wish to discuss it with the Prime Minister and the Chiefs of Staff. I gave an earlier version of the draft to the Colonial Office, but have not had any comments from them yet. It may be useful to you as showing how our minds are working on several questions which you must also be considering.

(Signed) B. A. B. Burrows.

5

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2. I agree entirely that a number of the major policy issues must be settled quickly, but I doubt whether the Defence Committee would find it easy to come to firm decisions about all these questions, some of which are major and others of comparatively minor importance, without having had all the relevant political and military factors assessed and firm recommendations made.

3. You will have seen a report by the Chiefs of Staff examining the strategic and administrative factors applicable to the withdrawal of our forces from Palestine (C.S.S.(47)223(0)). This report answers some of the problems raised in the memorandum by the Foreign Secretary, but the conclusions are, of course, based primarily on military considerations, and the Chiefs of Staff have asked that, pending examination of the whole problem of re-deployment of our forces in the Middle East, the report should be used only for Departmental guidance.

4. I recommend that a committee of officials should be convened, representative of the interested Departments, to work out alternative plans for withdrawal from Palestine under the conditions likely to be met. Whilst we would aim to withdraw as quickly as possible, we would wish, so far as possible, to ensure the protection of our nationals and economic interests. The Chiefs of Staff report could be available to them as advice on the military issues involved, and the memorandum from the Foreign Secretary puts the questions on which they should endeavour to make specific recommendations.

5. I feel that, unless a study of these problems is set in hand at once, we may find that we are forced to make announcements which may later be embarrassing or in practice be repudiated. I think such a report should be completed in a fortnight.

6. I understand that the Colonial Office are in favour of this procedure. If you agree, perhaps you would instruct the Secretary to the Cabinet to arrange for this Committee to be set up in agreement with the Foreign Secretary, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies and myself. (This new body could probably look after the remaining work of the Illegal Immigration Committee: if so, its appointment would not add to the number of existing committees.)

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7. I am sending copies of this minute to the Foreign Secretary and Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(Signed) A. V. ALEXANDER

28th October, 1947.

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145 1947 31	Palestine EASTERN	E10328/G 5 NOV 1947
E10328/146/C Mr. Mortimer C.O. to Mr. Burrows 758/2/154/22 dated 31 Oct Received 5 Nov	Future of Jerusalem: Colonial office views	
Last Paper E10281	(Minutes) This has been incorporated in	
References	the brief given by Mr Burrows to the Chairman of the O.C.P. JBMV.6	
(Print)		
(How disposed of)		
(Action completed) OK 6/11	(Index) WPA	
Next Paper		

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4 NOV 1947

E

250

Church House,
Great Smith Street,
London, S.W. 1.

October 31, 1947

My Reference...75872/154/22.

Your Reference.....

E10328

Dear Burrows,

I enclose, for use in the compilation of the
Official Committee on Palestine paper on the future of
Jerusalem, a digest of the arguments which we had
proposed to submit to the Defence Committee, supporting
the view of the Colonial Office and of the High
Commissioner for Palestine that HMG must retain some
form of continuing responsibility for order in the City.
You mentioned this morning that if we provide this
section of the paper you would complete it with the
Foreign Office arguments and a summary of the views
of the Chiefs of Staff and submit it to the Secretary
for circulation.

Yours sincerely,
W.A.C. Mathieson

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

B.A.B. BURROWS, ESQ.

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It has recently been possible to obtain the views of the District Commissioner in charge of Jerusalem, one of whose principal functions has been to keep the peace between the various rival religious communities, especially the seven different Christian confessions. In his view, if Jerusalem were left without an administration adequately equipped with the necessary powers, chaos would rapidly ensue among the Christian communities, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would be desecrated by inter-community strife, the treasures of the various communities, which contain relics of priceless historical worth and valued at many millions of pounds, would be despoiled and the antiquities of centuries might be destroyed in a day. At present the presence of the British Administration alone prevents such disorder. If it were removed, with the consequent desecration of the holiest sites in Christendom, there would be a storm of protest and a revulsion of feeling against us throughout the Christian world. Moreover, the Greek Orthodox Church would almost certainly appeal for support to their traditional protector, Russia (and it must be borne in mind that the USSR Government have already succeeded in gaining a foothold in the Greek Orthodox Community in Jerusalem), while the rival Latin Church would similarly appeal to its historic champion, France, and to its main financial supporter, the USA. The seeds of a major international incident might well be sown.

~~It~~ is...

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It is, of course, appreciated that to leave troops behind in Jerusalem to maintain order there would largely nullify the good effects of our withdrawal vis-a-vis the Arabs and might lead to our becoming involved in any conflict which might arise between Arabs and Jews. Since the principal asset we may hope to retain in the Middle East after withdrawal from Palestine is the goodwill of the Arab world, the risk of losing this goodwill cannot lightly be run. In this situation, there appears to be a very strong case for laying the problem of the security of the Holy Places as a separate issue before the United Nations at the present Assembly and pressing them at the least to make proper arrangements for the maintenance of order in Jerusalem, using, if necessary, British police (with others if available) supported by military forces if required, under whatever control the United Nations may decide.

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1947

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PALESTINE

E 10296

4 NOV

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Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 10296/HG/SI

Tingus

Borough

Oct 10

Nov 4

Palestine Problem.

Transmit proposed solution to the
Palestine Problem, suggest not given
should be considered.

Last Paper.

10281

(Minutes.)

X

JB Nov. 4

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)


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Next Paper.

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JACQUES SAMUEL BAROUH

10298

254 E

REPRÉSENTATIONS / COMMERCE
FOURNITURES D'ÉTAT

4 NOV

SOFIA, LE 19 octobre 1.947

RUE VESLETZ N° 52

BOITE POSTALE N° 39

TELEPHONE N° 5-13-05

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE :

J J A D P N F C P M

A Sa Majesté le

ROI d'ANGLETERRE

Majesté ,

30 OCT 1947

Londres

Le probleme palestinien est suffisamment compliqué pour ne pas faire un casse tete exclusif de la Commission d'enquete pour la Palestine et pour permettre à un privé de vous presenter un projet basé sur l'element religieux , projet que vous etes prié d'avoir l'obligeance d'examiner et de bien vouloir soumettre à la bienveillante attention de son Excellence Votre Ministre des colonies .

Je suis persuadé que sur la base du projet ci - joint il sera possible de trouver une solution s'adaptant en lignes generales aux principes , qu'il envisage et pouvant satisfaire les adeptes aux trois religions confessées en Palestine .

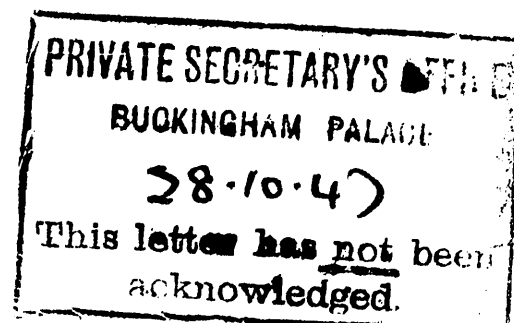
Avec ces voeux veuillez agréer , Majesté , mes plus sincerés remerciements , ainsi que l'expression de ma parfaite consideration :

Annexe : un projet de federation
Palestinienne religieuse

Par avion recommandée

Jacques Barouh

termina les etudes du cours
superieur de religion & la
faculté des sciences supe-
rieures economiq. et commerc



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93.

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Les droits de l'homme reconnus par l'Organisation des Nations Unies devront être admis par chacune des constitutions, ainsi que toutes les libertés démocratiques.

Communes et enregistrements des citoyens : Les Communes seront considérées sur la base du principe religieux tout en étant civiles. Chaque citoyen aura le droit de s'inscrire à une commune israéliite, chrétienne ou islamique selon sa confession et non selon sa race.

Les laïques auront le droit de s'inscrire dans la commune de la religion de ses parents. Là où il n'y a pas de commune correspondante, chaque citoyen pourra s'inscrire dans la commune la plus proche, mais votera pour les institutions administratives communales et supérieures sur la base du principe religieux.

Les israéliites seront sujets Palestiniens n'importe la commune où ils habitent, Les chrétiens seront sujets Libanais et les islamiques seront sujet Transjordanien. En outre tous seront sujets fédéraux dans le territoire fédéral et à l'étranger.

IMMIGRATION DES JUIFS ISRAELITES : Les frontières entre les 3 pays seront abolies. Les juifs israéliites ou redevenus israéliites résidant hors de cette fédération, obtenir le passeport fédéral et la sujétion de la Palestine par une simple déclaration écrite adressée aux bureaux de l'Organisation des Nations Unies aux EUA ou à Genève et par la suite aux Légations fédérales à l'étranger, déclarant qu'ils renoncent à leur sujétion actuelle.

Cette déclaration sera obligatoire pour chaque pays de résidence actuelle permanente ou provisoire du déclarant. Cette déclaration leur donnera le droit de se rendre en Palestine. Ce droit sera garanti par l'organ. des Nations Unies même pour les pays, qui ne sont pas encore membre de cette organisation.

Au Liban et en Transjordanie les Juifs seront admis en temps que sujets fédéraux résidents au territoire fédéral avant la constitution de cette nouvelle fédération ; leur nombre ne devra dépasser celui des citoyens locaux, tandis que les immigrants pourront s'établir seulement en Palestine, en base des quotas d'immigration suivantes :

- environ 600.000 pour la période 1947-1953 quote globale réalisable dès suite ;
- " 1.200.000 pour la période 1953-1959 réalisable en l'an 53-54-55 et
- " 2.400.000 pour la période 1959-1965.

POLICE : Au besoin l'ordre sera gardé dans le territoire fédéral pendant les premiers six ans par une police internationale sous la surveillance de l'organ. des Nations Unies, si de graves

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incidents publics l'imposeront et ceci après la constitution de la nouvelle fédération .

TRIBUNAUX : Chaque citoyen poursuivi par la loi ne peut être jugé que par le tribunal de l'Etat , auquel appartient la catégorie religieuse de sa communauté et ne peut être retenu, que par la police de cette même communauté, à la quelle il devra être rendu dans les 24 heures de son arrest .

IMPOTS DES CITOYENS : Il est de même pour les impôts redevables à la respective commune et contrôlable par les respectives administrations des impôts communaux , d'arrondissements ou de départements et par les Cours Suprêmes administratives de chaque Etat fédéral.

CHAMBRES DES COMMUNES ET MINISTRES : Chaque chambre des communes aura le même ou un différent nombre de députés , malgré le nombre différent de chaque population .

Le nombre des ministres sera le même pour chaque état fédéral .

Les ministres suivants passeront sous les fonctions du triumvirat , chaque avec trois sous-secrets d'Etat : un juif israélite, un chrétien et un musulman pour chaque Ministère

Ministère des affaires extérieures .

Ministère du service obligatoire du travail public et de la défense fédérale.

[Selon le service biennal adopté en Bulgarie et ailleurs et 1 Corps fédéral pour la sauvegarde des frontières (police de frontières)].

Ministère du commerce extérieur et marine fédérale.

Ministère des chemins de fer, routes et communications

Ministère de la coordination des intérêts fédéraux

Conseil Suprême économique et etc.

LANGUES OFFICIELLES : l'hébreu , l'arabe et une langue étrangère : française ou anglaise .

NEUTRALITÉ et GARANTIES de l'O.N.U. : Le pays sera déclaré neutre comme la Suisse. Cette neutralité, ainsi que l'inviolabilité du territoire fédéral devront être garanties par l'organ. des Nations Unies

EXPANSION COMMERCIALE , GRAND TRAVAUX , EMPRUNTS INTERNATIONAUX :

L'irrigation du Jourdan , le canal Mer Rouge , Morte et Méditerranée constitueront le programme futur des travaux fédéraux

Une zone libre indépendante chrétienne devra être proclamée aux saints lieux de Jérusalem et ailleurs pour favoriser le pèlerinage du monde chrétien .

Avec deux zones libres indépendantes portuaires pour favoriser le commerce des marchandises en transit , ainsi que le tourisme international , dont l'une juive aux environs de Tel Aviv et l'autre arabe aux environs de Haïfa , chacune avec un ter-

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ritoire marin suffisant pour une population croissante de demi à un million d'habitants pour chaque zone portuaire future .

Ces deux zones constitueront deux territoires communaux entièrement autonomes ; il sera de même de la troisième zone chrétienne, laquelle sera administrée par l'Union des églises chrétiennes . Ces 3 zones ne feront pas partie du territoire fédéral et serviront à ceux, qui les préféreront davantage.

XVII . DEVOIR DE LA FEDERATION :

" VERITE, Fraternité et Prosperité "

XVIII . DEPLACEMENT DE LA POPULATION INTERNE : Chaque citoyen aura le droit de conserver la résidence, qu'il a eu dans sa commune officiellement ou effectivement avant la décision de l'org. des Nations Unies de septembre 1947 .

Les Israélites auront le droit d'immigrer dans la zone libre musulmane avec l'autorisation des musulmans. Les chrétiens et les musulmans auront le droit d'immigrer dans les zones libres israéliques et chrétienne et musulmane avec les respectives autorisations.

Chaque citoyen d'avant septembre 1947 aura le droit d'immigrer dans le territoire fédéral ; librement . Une Commission fédérale d'immigration règlera tous les problèmes des biens des déplacements internes libres ou autorisés .

XIX . VARIANTES DE CE PROJET : En cas de refus de traiter sur la base de ce projet de la part du Liban, il faudra prévoir les changements suivants :

a/ Variante première :

Pays fédéraux : Palestine, Zone libre des lieux saints et Transjordanie, sous le nom de fédération PALESTINIENNE avec capitales : Tel Aviv, Amman et Jerusalem de la zone libre et siège fédéral à Jerusalem .

b/ Variante seconde : en cas de refus aussi de la part de la Transjordanie de traiter sur la base de ce projet, il faudra

passer aux changements suivants :

Pays fédéraux : Zone libre arabe près de Haifa, Zone libre juive près de Tel Aviv et Zone libre chrétienne des lieux saints, tandis que le reste de la Palestine sera le territoire fédéral commun, dont les citoyens seront sujets d'un des 3 pays fédéraux .

Cette répartition en trois zones devra tenir compte de la population musulmane d'environ 1.150.000.-, des israéliques d'environ 700.000.- et des chrétiens d'environ 150.000.-

Les autres chapitres restent immodifiés .

XX . MODIFICATION DU PROJET : Sous la recommandation du Vatican, de l'Agence Juive à Jerusalem et des Etats Arabes membres de

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l'organ. des Nations Unies ce projet pourra etre modifié et perfectionné.

XXI . PRINCIPE DU PROJET :

a/ Concernant le territoire : Les Arabes en Transjordanie disposent d'un territoire palestinien , où ils ne se soucient pas de devoir partager le pouvoir , les droits et les obligations avec les juifs

Ce territoire faisait toujours partie de la Palestine Pour sanctionner cet act illegal au point de vue international par l'organ. des Nations Unies , ainsi que pour arriver à une formule d'arrangement arabo- juif , une autre partie du territoire palestinien devra etre accordée aux Juifs , en tenant compte que le territoire de la Transjordanie compte plus du tiers de la Palestine d'avant ce partage de la Transjordanie .

D'après la variante seconde la zone juive devra etre suffisamment grande et devra permettre aux juifs de jouir de tous le droits, dont jouissent les Arabes en Transjordanie.

b/ concernant la declaration de la Charte de l'Atlantique :

Les principes de la Charte de l'Atlantique devront etre valables pour cette federation aussi .

c/ Concernant les 3 religions :

L'histoire et l'avenir de la Palestine ne concernent pas seulement les Juifs, ni seulement les Arabes, mais aussi les Chretiens. Le concours et l'approbation de ce projet par la Chretienté est également indispensable pour mettre de l'équilibre et faire une balance entre les Arabes et les Juifs avec enormement plus de chances d'entente et de succès , que ne pourrait le faire un gouvernement binational .

XXII Remarque generale : Ce projet tout en etant un projet privé n'a pas un autre but que de servir à faciliter en quelque sorte la solution du probleme Palestinien .

La complication du problème Juif et Palestinien exige le choix d'une forme assez compliquée d'innovation de l'art de gouverner :

1/ pour satisfaire aux exigences des peuples habitants la Palestine et du peuple juif qui devra habiter la Palestine ,

2/ pour demontrer aux nations que trois religions monotheiques peuvent mettre les bases de la paix et du progres dans ce premier berceau de la civilisation humaine et enfin :

3/ pour appliquer l'esprit de la pensée citée au chapitre XIX du Lévitique :

8p.

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10354

6 NOV

1947

PALESTINE

261

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E10354/46/31

80

Command

6 Nov

Palestine, suggestion by 7/M, Amuts.
copy of letter from H/C South Africa no PS
26/11/28 of 20 Oct containing suggestions
by Field Marshall Amuts re the
Palestine situation.

Last Paper.

10328

(Minutes.)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Dpt. H.A. Twist.
B.R.O.

Nov 4
from M' Burrows

(Action
completed.)

(Index)

7/11/11

7/11/11

Next Paper.

E10385

32003 F.O.P

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Minutes.

Enron

262 E

1 attach a draft letter to
CRO suggesting material
for a reply to F-M Smith
on Palestine.

JAB Burrows

1. x1

CT Warner

1/x1

JG Sanger Vol 2

Draft approved by the S. G. S. - but
see his marginal comment.

Insert a passage
+ get off. off.

CT Warner
4/11

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Reference:

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371

61793

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With the Compliments of the
Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth
Relations. 22 OCT 1947

TOP SECRET

LETTER

10354

6 NOV

R.D.

From: High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, London

To: Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations

D. 20th Oct., 1947. (Ref. No. P.S. 26/44/28)
Recd. C.R.O. 21st Oct., 1947.

TOP SECRET

My dear Secretary of State,

Field Marshal Smuts has asked me to say that he fully appreciates the importance of the grave messages contained in your telegrams D.Nos. 822 and 823 of the 15th October, 1947, on the Palestine question. He sympathises with the position in which the United Kingdom is likely to be placed as the United Nations Organisation is incorrigibly unrealistic and will once more make a mess of this as of the other problems before it.

The Prime Minister states that what worries him is how the United Kingdom Government can extricate themselves from the situation.

He had hoped that the United Kingdom Government would retain Jewish goodwill in spite of all and that they would be able to leave behind them in Palestine a friendly Jewish people. There is for instance the oil line and the Haifa terminus so vital to British Mediterranean interests. There is also the considerable time and effort it will take to evacuate British stores and equipment from Palestine, which a hostile Jewry may make more difficult. The Soviet agreement to partition appears to Field Marshal Smuts as an ominous sign, as he considers that they are courting the Jews and looking for a jumping-off point in Jewish Palestine. There are other points which the Prime Minister feels he need not mention.

Partition/

SPECIAL

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-2-

Partition now seems likely to Field Marshal Smuts to be adopted and the question has accordingly occurred to him whether it is too late still to come to some understanding with the Jews in favour of it and on the other hand to placate Trans-Jordan and Syria with the balance of Arab Palestine which in any case could never be a viable state. If the United States would join the United Kingdom in exploring a compromise on some such lines British and American oil and other vital interests would be protected and some British credit saved out of this deplorable wreckage which could otherwise only mean bloodshed and misery and a new and dangerous international running sore for the future. The Prime Minister thinks that American interest in the Jews may make some such way out possible, but he adds that it is not for him to judge whether it is still possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) G. Heaton Nicholls

Copy to:-

Prime Minister's	Private Secretary
Foreign Office	P.S. to Secretary of State
	Mr. F.T.A. Ashton-Gwatkin
	Mr. J.P.G. Finch
	Mr. I.P. Garrahan
Colonial Office	Mr. Trafford-Smith
M/Defence	Lt.Col. Parry for C.O.S.
C.R.O. (King	
Charles St.)	Mr. K. Barnes (4)
Colonial Office	Private Secretary to Secretary
	of State

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Open.

J. G. S. B.

Mr. Twist,
Commonwealth
Relations
Office.

From: Mr. ~~M.~~ Garraan.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

C.O. Concur
Mr Pingen just

JB Oct. 28
Ans. ... 20/x

but that they would
not themselves
undertake the responsibility
of implementing any
settlement that was
not acceptable to
both Arabs and Jews

3148 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

28th October 1947.

Dear Twist,

dated Oct. 2016 (Ref. No. P.S. 26/44/28)

we have received a copy of a letter from the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations ~~containing~~ containing certain suggestions by Field Marshal Smuts about Palestine and I understand that you would like us to suggest a basis for a reply.

~~Briefly, Field Marshal Smuts's suggestion~~
is that we should arrange to carry out partition
by "coming to some understanding with the Jews
in favour of it" and "placating Trans-Jordan and
Syria with the balance of Arab Palestine".

Field Marshal Smuts will of course be aware of the two statements of policy made by the Colonial Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on ^{the} ~~this~~ ~~subject~~ ^{at it under of H.M.G.} in the first of these Mr. Creech Jones

subject. In the first of these Mr. Creech Jones
said that ~~His Majesty's~~ ^{The United Kingdom} Government were ready,
first, to assume the responsibility for giving
effect to any plan on which agreement is reached
between the Arabs and the Jews, ^{or} and, secondly,
to consider participating with others in the
enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to
the inherent justice of the settlement and the
extent to which force would be required to give
effect to it. At the same time ^{the U.K. Govt} ~~H.M.C.~~ have

effect to it. At the same time H.M.G. have
stated their intention to withdraw ~~British~~ ^{the I.R. U.K.} troops
and administration from Palestine at an early
date. ~~It is hoped that this decision will have~~
the effect of bringing both Jews and Arabs to a
more reasonable frame of mind and that agreement
may be reached between the two sides before we
leave.

~~The arrangement/~~

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

3148 Wt. 26469/137 50m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

[Confidential]

DRAFT

Mr. Twist,
Commonwealth
Relations Office.

Smuts.
(From Mr. ~~Garran~~)

Co. Concurs

593

16th November **267**
~~October~~, 1947.

Dear Twist,

We have received a copy of a letter dated October 20th (ref. No. P.S.26/44/28) from the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations containing certain suggestions by Field-Marshal Smuts about Palestine and I understand that you would like us to suggest a basis for a reply.

Field-Marshal Smuts will of course be aware of the two statements of policy made by the Colonial Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on the attitude of H.M.G. In the first of these Mr. Creech Jones said that the United Kingdom Government were ready, first, to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews or, secondly, to consider participating with others in the enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it; but that they would not themselves undertake the responsibility of implementing any settlement that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. At the same time the U.K. Government have stated their intention to withdraw the U.K. troops and administration from Palestine at an early date.

We have adopted this attitude partly because we wanted to make it absolutely clear that we were entirely disinterested, partly because/

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Draft.

Mr. Twist,
Commonwealth
Relations
Office.

From: Mr. ~~N.~~ Garraan.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

C.O. Concur
Mr Pynch just

JB Oct. 28
Ind. 20/x

but that they would
 make themselves
 undertake the responsibility
 of implementing any
 settlement that was
 not acceptable to
 both Arabs and Jews

3148 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

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~~Open.~~

J. G. S. B.

Draft.

Mr. Twist,
Commonwealth
Relations
Office.

From: Mr. ~~N.~~ Garraan.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

C.O. Concur
Mr Pynch just

JB Oct. 28
Ind. 20/x

but that they would
 make themselves
 undertake the responsibility
 of implementing any
 settlement that was
 not acceptable to
 both Arabs and Jews

3148 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

28th October 1947.

Dear Twist,

dated Oct. 20th (Ref. No. P.S. 26/44/28)

We have received a copy of a letter from the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations ~~relating to the~~ containing certain suggestions by Field Marshal Smuts about Palestine and I understand that you would like us to suggest a basis for a reply.

~~Briefly, Field Marshal Smuts's suggestion~~
is that we should arrange to carry out partition
by "coming to some understanding with the Jews
in favour of it" and "placating Trans-Jordan and
Syria with the balance of Arab Palestine".
Field Marshal Smuts will of course be aware of
the two statements of policy made by the Colonial
Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on ^{the} ~~this~~
~~subject.~~ ^{attitude of H.M.G.} In the first of these Mr. Creech Jones
said that ~~His Majesty's~~ ^{The United Kingdom} Government were ready,
first, to assume the responsibility for giving
effect to any plan on which agreement is reached
between the Arabs and the Jews, ^{or} ~~and~~, secondly,
to consider participating with others in the
enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to
the inherent justice of the settlement and the
extent to which force would be required to give
effect to it. ^{The U.K. Govt} At the same time ^{H.M.G.} ~~H.M.G.~~ have
stated their intention to withdraw ^{The U.K.} ~~British~~ troops
and administration from Palestine at an early
date. ~~It is hoped that this decision will have~~
the effect of bringing both Jews and Arabs to a
more reasonable frame of mind and that agreement
may be reached between the two sides before we
leave.

~~The arrangement/~~

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An on the lines

The arrangement foreshadowed by Field Marshal Smuts is essentially one which *would have to* be reached between the Jews and the Arabs, and its durability would undoubtedly depend on the extent to which it was freely negotiated. H.M.G. would favour any plan which brought agreement between the two sides but the essence of their present policy is to stand aside from the controversy in the hope that, in a problem where their mediation has so long been ineffective, direct contact between the two parties, guided by world opinion at the United Nations, may prove more fruitful.

(And not only the "moderates" on each side)

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[Confidential]

DRAFT

Mr. Twist,
Commonwealth
Relations Office.

Smuts.
(From Mr. ~~Garran~~)

Co. concurs

5/5

10th November 267
~~October~~, 1947.

Dear Twist,

We have received a copy of a letter dated October 20th (ref. No. P.S.26/44/28) from the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations containing certain suggestions by Field-Marshal Smuts about Palestine and I understand that you would like us to suggest a basis for a reply.

Field-Marshal Smuts will of course be aware of the two statements of policy made by the Colonial Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on the attitude of H.M.G. In the first of these Mr. Creech Jones said that the United Kingdom Government were ready, first, to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews or, secondly, to consider participating with others in the enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it; but that they would not themselves undertake the responsibility of implementing any settlement that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. At the same time the U.K. Government have stated their intention to withdraw the U.K. troops and administration from Palestine at an early date.

We have adopted this attitude partly because we wanted to make it absolutely clear that we were entirely disinterested, partly

because/

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because we had made so many fruitless suggestions of our own already about the settlement of Palestine, and finally because we hoped that by facing the Arabs and Jews, not to mention the other Powers, with the realities of the situation, we might perhaps induce in them a more reasonable frame of mind, out of which some moves towards compromise might spring.

If we now associated ourselves with some specific solution such as that recommended by Field-Marshal Smuts, we should lose all these advantages. Any possible solution will in the first stages inevitably incur the hostility of both sides. If we were associated with any particular proposed settlement, the only result would be that we should once more become the target for criticism, and any prospect of constructive thinking would again be lost.

The best contribution which anyone can make to the solution of the problem at present is to encourage all concerned to face up to the decisive question whether, when we go, we can hand over to some kind of constitutional authority based on a mutually acceptable settlement, or whether we shall leave behind ^{either} a vacuum or some authority charged with the onerous duty of enforcing a settlement which is not accepted by both sides.

We entirely agree with Field-Marshal Smuts' view on the Soviet attitude to partition. This has, as he will be aware, produced a strong revulsion amongst the Arabs against Soviet propaganda.

Y
[You should
refer to village
immigrants
on, we
Supporters & financiers
from the United States
which made our
Task as a mandatory
Person impossible]

FM Smith will realize that one of the main reasons why the mandate has become unworkable & we have had therefore to adopt our present policy is the illegal service immigration, supported & financed by U.S. citizens.

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269
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.,

4th November, 1947.

[Confidential]

OUT FILE

Dear Twist,

We have received a copy of a letter dated October 20th (ref. No. P.S.26/44/28) from the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations containing certain suggestions by Field-Marshal Smuts about Palestine and I understand that you would like us to suggest a basis for a reply.

Field-Marshal Smuts will of course be aware of the two statements of policy made by the Colonial Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on the attitude of H.M. Government. In the first of these Mr. Creech Jones said that the United Kingdom Government were ready, first, to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews or, secondly, to consider participating with others in the enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it; but that they would not themselves undertake the responsibility of implementing any settlement that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. At the same time, the United Kingdom Government have stated their intention to withdraw the United Kingdom troops and administration from Palestine at an early date.

H.A. Twist, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office.

We/

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We have adopted this attitude partly because we wanted to make it absolutely clear that we were entirely disinterested, partly because we had made so many fruitless suggestions of our own already about the settlement of Palestine, and finally because we hoped that by facing the Arabs and Jews, not to mention the other Powers, with the realities of the situation, we might perhaps induce in them a more reasonable frame of mind, out of which some moves towards compromise might spring.

Field-Marshal Smuts will realise that one of the main reasons why the mandate has become unworkable and we have had therefore to adopt our present policy is the illegal Jewish immigration, supported and financed by United States citizens.

If we now associated ourselves with some specific solution such as that recommended by Field-Marshal Smuts, we should lose all these advantages. Any possible solution will in the first stages inevitably incur the hostility of both sides. If we were associated with any particular proposed settlement, the only result would be that we should once more become the target for criticism, and any prospect of constructive thinking would again be lost.

The best contribution which anyone can make to the solution of the problem at present is to encourage all concerned to face up to the decisive question whether, when we go, we can hand over to some kind of constitutional authority based on a mutually acceptable

settlement/

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settlement, or whether we shall leave behind us either a vacuum or some authority charged with the onerous duty of enforcing a settlement which is not accepted by both sides.

We entirely agree with Field-Marshal Smuts' view on the Soviet attitude to partition. This has, as he will be aware, produced a strong revulsion amongst the Arabs against Soviet propaganda.

(Signed) *B. A. B. Burmud.*
~~I. P. GARRAN~~

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F. 2781/43

R. D.

From: Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations

To: High Commissioner for Union of South Africa
in London

(Sent 12th Nov., 1947)

TOP SECRET

My dear High Commissioner

Will you please refer to your letter of the 20th October, No. F.S. 26/44/28, in which you gave us some suggestions by Field Marshal Smuts on various aspects of the Palestine situation. These have been given most careful consideration both here and in the Foreign Office.

Field Marshal Smuts will, of course, be aware of two statements of policy made by the Colonial Secretary at the United Nations Assembly on the attitude of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. He will, I am sure, realize that illegal Jewish immigration into Palestine, supported and financed by United States citizens, has been an important contributory factor in making the Mandate more unworkable, and is one reason for our present policy. In the first of his statements, Mr. Creech-Jones said that we were ready, first, to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and Jews, or, secondly, to consider participating with others in the enforcement of a settlement, having due regard to the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it, but that we would not ourselves undertake the responsibility of implementing any settlement that was not acceptable to both Arabs and Jews. At the same time, we have stated our intention to withdraw United Kingdom troops and administration from Palestine at an early date.

.We /

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FO 371 61793

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- 2 -

We have adopted this attitude, partly because we wanted to make it absolutely clear that we were entirely disinterested, partly because we had already made so many fruitless suggestions of our own about a settlement for Palestine, and finally, because we hoped that, by facing Arabs and Jews, not to mention other Powers, with the realities of the situation, we might perhaps induce in them a more reasonable and realistic frame of mind, out of which some moves towards compromise might spring.

Given these circumstances, we feel that if we were now to become prematurely associated with any particular proposed settlement, the only result would be that we should lose all the advantages gained by our present attitude, that we should once more become the target for criticism, and that any prospect of constructive thinking would again be lost.

We feel that the best contribution to be made to the solution of the problem at present is to encourage all concerned to face up to the decisive question whether, when we go, we can hand over to some kind of constitutional authority, based on a mutually acceptable settlement, or whether we shall leave behind us either a vacuum or some authority charged with the onerous duty of enforcing a settlement which is not accepted by both sides. The problem of the date of our withdrawal and of safeguarding the vital British Mediterranean interests to which Field Marshal Smuts refers, both during and after our withdrawal, remains under urgent consideration, and we are doing what we can to bring the United States into consultation with ourselves on this aspect of the matter, in relation to the strategic position in the Middle East generally.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we entirely agree with Field Marshal Smuts' view on the Soviet attitude to partition. This has, as you will be aware, produced a strong revulsion among the Arabs against Soviet propaganda.

We /

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Ew

- 3 -

We shall look forward to discussing the whole problem with
Field Marshal Smuts when he is here.

Yours ever

(Sgd.) P.J. Noel-Baker

Copy to:-

Prime Minister's	Private Secretary
Foreign Office	P.S. to Secretary of State (5)
	Mr. I.A. Kirkpatrick
	Mr. B.A.B. Burrows
	Mr. J.P.G. Finch
Colonial Office	P.S. to Secretary of State
	Mr. Trafford Smith
M/Defence	Lt. Col. Parry (for C.O.S.)

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